

New England J U D G E D.

The Second Part.

B E I N G,

A Relation of the cruel and bloody Sufferings of the People called *QUAKERS*, in the Jurisdiction chiefly of the *Massachusetts*; Beginning with the Sufferings of *William Ledra*, whom they murdered, and hung upon a Tree at *Boston*, the 14th of the first month, 1660. barely for being such a one as is called a *Quaker*, and coming within their Jurisdiction; And ending with the Sufferings of *Edward Wharton*, the 3d month, 1665. And the remarkable Judgements of God in the Death of *John Endicott* Governour, *John Norton*, High Priest, and *Humphry Adderton*, Major General.

By *George Bishop*.

Fill ye up then the measure of your Fathers; ye Serpents, ye Generation of
of Vipers, How can ye escape the Damnation of Hell?
Wherefore, behold, I send unto you Prophets, and wise Men, and Scribes,
and some of them ye shall Kill, and Crucifie; and some of them shall
ye scourge in your Synagogues, and persecute from City to City.
That upon you may come all the Righteous blood shed upon the Earth, from
the Blood of Righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, Son of Ba-
rachias, whom ye slew between the Temple and the altar.
Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come on this Generation, Mar-
23, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.

L O N D O N, Printed in the Year 1667.

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New England JUDGED.

The Second Part, &c.

IN my former Treatise I had to doing with you, *Governors* + *Intituled*, of *New England*, who had to do in the *sufferings* of the *New England* *Innocent*; and in particular with you of the *Massachusetts*, *Judged*, &c. whom I dealt withal by way of Answer to the *Printed Apology*, *The Introduction to this Book*, Intituled, *A Declaration of the General Court of the Massachusetts holden at Boston, the 18th of October, 1658.* Drawing all the sufferings therein mentioned; and the blood of those three whom you had put to death, and the Ears that you had cut, and the Backs that you had torn, and the Limbs that you had endeavoured to starve, and the Bellies that you had kept empty, and the Houses and Estates that you had laid waste and devoured, and the necessities and straits you had put, and exposed the People of the Lord unto, and their Families, for their Conscience to God, upon your heads, according to the particulars of that your Declaration, which was the method I then observed; and where I left it, having fully answered you, and leaving you Convict of the Cruelties and bloodsheds therein contained; and the forfeiture of your Pat-
tent, who in those things had dealt contrary to the *Laws of England*,

England, and repugnant thereunto. Now I shall Treat with you after another manner; and instead of reducing what I have to say of the cruel and bloody sufferings you have since that time inflicted on the Innocent, to particular qualities of sufferings, as of Death, Banishment, Whippings, &c. I shall carry the matter according to the series of time, and promiscuously manage the sufferings as they were promiscuously inflicted; in which I shall observe what brevity the nature of things of this concernment, and your demerits will admit, and so come to a close of this second part of the barbarous Sufferings of the Innocent chiefly within your Jurisdiction.

Indeed one would have thought, that the weight of the sufferings, and blood contained in the former Treatise; and the sence of the large account you have to give to God and Man for what you had so done, and the cruel necessities you had reduced your Neighbours and Friends unto thereby; and the constancy you perceived in them when they suffered, and the hand that bore them through that, which all things considered, no Age in England ever parallel'd, might have drawn some sence upon, and moisture from you; had you outworn the consideration of your Reputation, which from a People persecuted indeed for your Conscience, and flying into a strange Land because of Conscience, were come to be the greatest Persecutors of others for their Conscience; and if no other thing would have done it, one would think that the humanity of men should have prevailed, who, usually have some sence, where humanity it self, or the tenderness of Nature to its own flesh, as all men are made of one blood, and what man ever hated his own flesh, (that is) standing in the Nature, or the sence of that, in which all men were made, is not quite extinguished and put under; and they become cruel like the Ostriches in the Wildernesse; but where the Itch of Blood is once lodged in the hearts of men, and that Spirit bears Rule which doth not to others what it would be done unto it self; the contrary unto which is the Royal Law; and where the blood-thirsty Spirit hath once tasted of the Sufferings of the Innocent, there it is never at rest, until the Innocent are nor; or that there are no more Innocents left, whose blood it might suck,

suck, and so the *Righteous* be rid from off the face of the Earth; as it was with *Cain*, who in the very point of *Worship*, or the *Sacrifice*, in which *God* was well pleased, or had respect unto, slew his Brother, when he had no other in the world; and though himself became a *Vagabond*, and his guilt made him to fly the face of any man whom he met with on the Earth, yet he returned not. The *natural* or *cruel* Father, or the *first* of that Generation, in whom the *murdering* Spirit entered, or had effect, of all that for *Conscience*, or the *Worship* of *God* persecuted them whose Religion and *Conscience* was not according to theirs; and here no weight bears sence, or gives remorse, or pity, but being in its own Element, or that which is *hard*, and without *natural* affection, *implacable*, *unmerciful*, being over, no touch can pierce through, till the Judgement of *God* comes to break them in pieces; and then oftentimes the utter destruction of those in whom this hath ruled, comes to be the consequence, and they to be rewarded according to their deeds.

And this will prove the consequence of you, who have so often, and so long washt your hands in Innocent blood, without consideration or remorse, and have counted it your glory, by how much the more you have caused it to be shed, (of which anon I shall give instance) And therefore I write not unto you, as hoping you will take warning, or that I think your Judgement you will miss, for you must bear it in the extremity, the Lord hath spoken it: But to record you for ever, as the most unnatural persons (all things being duly weighed) as ever the Earth bore: and that I may carry on your Judgment, which is begun already, and place it upon you for ever and ever, wherein time shall be no more, and you shall be rewarded as your work shall be; So I have drawn the Line once more over you, that Ages to come may see your wickedness, and that they may glorifie the Lord over your destruction, when they shall understand wherefore it was that he so did unto you, when his Judgement on you shall be accomplished: And this let me tell you, in the Name of the Lord, who hath moved me to write, and thus to speak unto you, That it shall never be withdrawn, till all be accomplished in this World, and in the World

to come, you, who have shed the blood of the Innocent, shall perish for ever. Some of you know it already, who are gone to their own place, whom his Judgement hath taken hold of, (of which in its place and order) and the rest of you shall know it in due season; mock at it whilst you will, and stretch out your necks, and make a wry mouth, your Judgement lingereth not, nor doth your Damnation slumber; and the hand of Man shall pursue you, as it hath already begun, and you shall not escape what his Counsell hath determined, and his Word hath spoken; and you shall be an hissing, and an execration, and a by-word, and a taunt, and your Judgement shall remain for ever and ever.

The Book it
Self.

Therefor hear ye stout-hearted, who are far from Righteousness, and give ear to the account of your wickedness, which in the Name of the Lord I shall thus bring upon you.

Mary Dyer.

But before I proceed to the Particulars which are not intanced in the former Treatise, I must a little look back, and give some account of what in my former was not spoken of concerning Mary Dyer, whom your barbarous hands slew, and hung upon a Tree, as is at large therein expressed, which is a short Letter of hers wrote to your General Court at Boston, 28th. 8th month, 1659. After she was reprieved, and taken from the Tree, and brought to Prison, wherein instead of flying off from you, because of the death of her two dear Friends and Servants of the Lord, W. Robinson, and Marmaduke Stevenson, with whom she was led from the Jail to the place of Execution, and who were there cruelly murdered by you for their Conscience to God, the thing in her which is everlasting, which you opposed, and because thereof, and her Testimony unto it, slew both her and them, came on upon you, and instead of shunning death, encountered you to die; and in the Name and Power of the Lord bad you defiance, and warned you, and spake of what should follow upon you, which because it is a Prophecie, which certainly on you shall be fulfilled, and is a lively testimony of the virtue of Truth; which can look death in the face, and a good favour and record to future Generations how it hath conquered in a Woman, I have here set down as followeth.

The

The 28th. of the 8th. month, 1659.

ONce more to the general Court Assembled in Boston, *speaks* Mary Dyar, even as before, My Life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in comparison of the Lives and liberty of the Truth, and Servants of the living God; which in the Bowels of Love and Meekness I sought you; yet nevertheless, with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel that the mercies of the Wicked is cruelty; I rather chose to die then to live, as from you, as guilty of their Innocent blood; Therefore seeing my request is hindered, I leave you to the Righteous Judge, and searcher of all Hearts, who with the pure measure of Light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you see whose Servants you are, and of whom you have taken counsel, which I desire you to search into: But all his Counsel hath been slighted, and you would none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. 1. 24, to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own Master, in obedience to the Lord, whom I serve with my Spirit, and pity to your Souls, which you neither know, nor pity; I can do no less then once more to warn you, to put away the evil of your ways, and kiss the Son, the Light in you, before his Wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if these things be not so, then say, There hath been no Prophet from the Lord sent amongst you; though we be nothing, yet it is his pleasure by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

Her Letter to the Court, after she was taken the first time from the Tree, after which they hanged her.

When I heard your last Order read, it was a disturbance unto me, that was so freely offering up my life to him that gave it me, and sent me hither so to do, which obedience being his own work, he gloriously accompanied with his presence, and peace, and love in me, in which I rested from my labour, till by your Order, and the people, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain any more the words thereof, then that I should return to Prison; and

and there remain forty and eight hours, to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his Pleasure and Counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my Life, and the length of my dayes, and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at his Command.

Mary Dyer.

So far *Mary Dyer*, and so far concerning her blood, which you sucked, and the other two Servants of the Lord, as aforesaid. I shall now proceed to a fresh account of your cruelty and blood exercised on the Servants of the Lord, since the return of the King, and under the pretence of his Name and Authority, as ye had before under the Name of the Commonwealth; And I shall take things in order here according to the best account I have from a place at that distance, as yours is from England; and as I left the former Treatise in the blood of *Mary Dyer* aforesaid, whom ye took from the Tree after her face was covered, and the Halter about her neck, and she was given up to die, and carried to your Jayl, or murderous Den at Boston, and afterwards put to death, all but for barely coming into your Jurisdiction, and being such a one as is called a Quaker, as in the first Part of the Relation of your bloody cruelties is more at large rehearsed. So I shall begin this with the blood of *William Ledra* of Barbadoes, as it lies in order, and in the first place to be treated of or related.

Will. Ledra. The said *W. Ledra* having been again, and again, cruelly whipt in your bloody Den at Boston, and sought there to be both starved and smothered to death with *W. Brend*, by your cruel Jayler Salter, and Sentenced unto Banishment, upon pain of Death; besides sore and long Imprisonments, in that your Jayl, and in *Plimoth Patent*; and being put out of another jurisdiction; I say, the said *W. Ledra*, after all the aforesaid cruel sufferings, coming into your bloody jurisdiction: gain of the *Massachusetts*, and to your Metropolis of blood, your bloody Boston, to visit there the Servants of the Lord who lay therein Prison for the Testimony of their Conscience to God; you soon laid hands on him; and having thrust him into your Laid hands on. Cub, your Jayler presently put his Tallons upon him, and fastned

Imprisoned.

Put in Chains.

Laid hands on.

fastned him to a log of Wood, and there kept him night and day lockt in Chains, during a miserable and very cold Winter, (which usually is beyond the extremity in England) lying down and rising up with them, as the best Companions which he could have outwardly, which were miserable enough, cold and hard weather, and hard and cold Irons, in an open Prison, enough to have murdered a man whom the Lord did not uphold; (The Mercies of New England, with which they exercise the Servants of the Lord, and entertain strangers, who themselves fled thither as strangers from the Persecution of the Bishops, who now become cruel, beyond the Presidents of former Generations, who shall have their Judgements as are their Presidents.) I say, till the first month, which was the time of the sitting of your Court of Assistance, in which you brought him forth, with his Chains and Log at his heels; and as if all that had been done unto him was not sufficient, you put to your weight to sink him down, and force him out of this World, which shall force you down, and sink you for ever, The Lord hath spoken it.

Fastened to a Log.

1662.

Brought before the Court of Assistance.

This cruel Treatment was very hard to behold by his fellow Prisoners, the Servants of the Lord, whom he coming in tenderness of love to visit, was dealt with as aforesaid. And Edward Wharton of Salem (one that is often mentioned in the former Relation, for your cruelties upon him, though an Inhabitant) being able no longer to withhold, when he heard dear William asking the Jayler when he intended to take the Irons from his Legs? and the Jayler answering, When thou art going to be hang'd. Said to your Jayler, William Salter, Who gave thee order to do these things? Thou attest as if thou wert some Magistrate. To which your Jayler replied, I am a Magistrate in my place: (see what height of preferment bloodthirstiness and cruelties imagine men into, Jaylers Magistrates, Magistrates Jaylers) And to William Ledra he said, I look upon thee as a Capital Offender. This was the ease, and tender resentment of a man compassed about with the same infirmities as himself, whom he cruelly had entertained as aforesaid, both as Executioner and Magistrate, (a horrid Schism in Law and Government, for the same man to be both Executioner and Judge,)

Edw. Wharton.

Judge.) Hereupon *Edward Wharton* being so far from being terrified with what was done, that he was ready to come upon it in the strength of the Lord; (see the nature of Truth, and the force of that which is everlasting, which cannot be terrified) Said, Truly *William*, if I come to be at liberty, I shall return to my home; that is, he should come back again, upon your Law of Death, as *William Ledra* had, when he should be set at liberty upon being Sentenc'd to Banishment, in order to which Sentence of Banishment he was Imprisoned, and so expected it; your Jaylor answered, He should (pointing to the Gallows) then be hang'd. The mercies of the Wicked which are cruelties; and he was as good as his word, or truth which moved him then to spake in the face of your cruelty, as unterrified, and daring to die, for the Testimony of Truth carried him on to perform it, after you had Sentenced him, and put *William Ledra* to death, who came upon you again; when you were upon the blood of *Winlock Christison*, (hereafter to be mentioned) which is a farther demonstration of the Power of God ruling in his Servants, whom you sought to run over, but were not able, though you tryed it with Whippings and Scourgings, and loss of Goods, and Imprisonments, and cutting of Ears, and selling for Bond-slaves, and Burnings, and Banishment, and Death.

First month, Now your Court of Assistance being sat in the first month,
1661. out you draw this Servant of the Lord (whom your former cruelties had not killed) to your Judgement Seat, there to Sentence him, and put him to death, and so to dispatch him quite by pretence of Law; whom your cruelties had not destroyed, though they were to him in the nature of a lingering

Ed. Wharton death; and with him, *Edward Wharton*, as aforesaid, and
John Chamberlaine. *John Chamberlaine* a Housekeeper in your Town of Boston, whom you had cruelly whipt oft-times before, as in the former Treatise hath been mentioned. And *Robert Harper* and his Wife, who came above sixty miles from their Homes at Sandwich, to visit their Brethren in Bonds, for which you had lockt them up in Prison all Winter from their homes, and like ones; so far were you from visiting the Prisoners, though you knew, who said, I was sick, and in Prison, and you visited me not; and these

these shall go into Life Eternal, but the wicked into everlasting punishment; All these ye drew to your Judgement Seat, where being brought to the Bar, you spake of your Law, and told William Ledra, That he was found guilty, and so that he was to die; William said, What evil have I done? To said; His own confession was as good as a thousand Witnesses. William demanded, What was that? You answered, That he owned those that were put to death. (A sore Crime indeed for a man to be put to Death, for owning the Innocent Martyrs of Jesus whom you had murdered; and that they were Innocent for which they died; and that he would not put off his Hat in Court; and that he would say, Thee and Thou. (O that ever a Generation of men should be so besotted in blood, as to bring Innocent blood upon their heads, for such Innocent things as these!)) Then said William to you, You will will put me to death for speaking English, and for not putting off my Cloaths. To this your sometimes Major General Denison replied, A man may speak Treason in English, let us come to the thing in hand. Then answered William, Is it Treason to say Thee and Thou to a single Person? To which none of you replied, but Simon Broadstreet (a man hardened in blood, and a cruel Persecutor) demanded of William Ledra, whether he would go for England? William answered, I have no business there. Said Simon pointing to the Gallows, Then you shall be hang'd, or that he should go that way. So little esteem have you of mens lives or blood; but blood will be given you who are worthy, and as you have shewed no mercy, so no mercy will you receive from the hands of the Lord. And yet this Simon Broadstreet, when afterwards he was here in England with John Norton your High Priest, as your Agent, could tell how to shrink, when with sitting on the blood of the Innocent, he was here charged withal, fearing he should have been here questioned for the blood of the Innocent, which had he received his due, had been here executed upon him; but another hand will meet with him, who to him and you, will render according to your deeds. William replied, What will you put me to death for breathing in the Air in your Jurisdiction? And for what you have against me, I appeal to the Laws of England (said he) for my Trial; Brought to the Bar, and William Ledra tried.
The matters laid to his charge.

He appeals to England.

and if by them I am guilty, I refuse not to die. See the vallour of the man, and his confidence, and trust, and your wickedness, that for breathing in the Air, (for in effect nothing else could ye charge him with, but coming within your Jurisdiction, who is called a Quaker, and doing nothing therein worthy of Death, or of Bonds; And what is this but for breathing in the Air within your Jurisdiction? neither broaching Opinion or Principle, or doing any other thing, but coming in contrary to your Law, who will have none to breath therein but whom ye please) his breath ye will take away, and cut him off from the Land of the Living.

The Court denies his appeal

To this you would not agree nor yeeld, but instead thereof, you seek to perswade him to recant of those Errors, and conform to your Wills, and to submit to you, so hard it is for you to submit to England. (O what a stupid Generation are ye, to demand of a man for his life to recant, for not putting off his Hat, his Cloaths, for speaking properly Thou and Thee to a single Person; for owning those who coming into your Jurisdiction, and being known to be such persons as themselves, by such Innocent and proper things as these, ye put to death, and because he cannot do it, to murder him also, it is hard to find words by which to express you.) To which he answered, according to the magnanimity of the Spirit of Truth which was in him; What? to joy with such murderers as you are; then let every man that meets me say, Lo this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his Salvation. You said to him, the last General Court, He had liberty given him to go for England, or go out of your Jurisdiction, and promising to do so, and come there no more, he might save his life. He answered, I stand not in my own will, but in the Will of the Lord; If I may have my freedom, I shall go, but to make you a promise I cannot. Whereupon those aforesaid who were at the Bar with him, being grieved at their hearts to see your wicked proceedings against an Innocent man for his life, after all your aforesaid cruelties towards, and exercised upon him, only because he came into your Jurisdiction, began to resist against your exceeding wickedness; and amongst the rest, Edward Wharton by name, which to stop, and that your wrong dealings with the Inno-

Ed. Wharton

cent might not be made manifest † one of you cryed out to have Edward Wharton gag'd, who spake (so you do what you please, and none must contradict you, how unjust soever and cruel be your proceedings) and others cryed, Have them away to Jayl, Faylor, take them away; so all of them were had away except W. Ledra, whom they reserved for sentence of death; who as they were hurried away, cryed for liberty to stay, and hear, and see the Tryal of their Friend, whom they said, They perceived you had an intent to murder; but if you denyed them, and him you reserved for your * will, and lockt up the others some hours in Prison.

So what in you lay, you sought to quench the Witness of God in his Servants, who were Prisoners, that it might not testify against you, and give you torment, but the Lord was above you; and whereas your Law of Death sought to fright those, in whom the Power of the Lord lived, (though you would not own it, and forced them out of your Jurisdiction, for which cause you made your bloody Law, as aforesaid, and had put three to death, as hath been related; you were deceived in this also, for not only did W. Ledra come upon your Law for death, after you had murdered the other three, as hath been said, but Wenlock Christison being moved of the Lord, and brought by the mighty Power of God, with his Life in his hand, and being made willing by the same Power and Life, to offer up his Life in obedience to the Lord, (in performance of which he found peace and rest) if he saw it good to require it of him, was not afraid of your Laws, nor Gibbets, but in the Name and Power of God, though he stood in the predicament of Death, having been already Banished by you, upon the pain of death, came into your Court, not fearing the wrath of the Devil, nor the fury of the Dragon in you, which had power to kill some, and persecute others of the Saints of the most high God, even in the very time that you were trying the said W. Ledra, and there nobly shewed himself over the head of all your blood and cruelty in the strength of the Lord.

This struck a great damp upon you, to see a man so concern'd in his life, so come upon your Law of Death, and trample it under, insomuch that for a little space of time, there

† James Oliver, and Peter Oliver, cryed out, Knock him on the Pate.

And the rest except W. Ledra had to Jayl.

* Which is your Law, as Rawson said to Ed. Wharton, That the Will of the Court was a Law.

Wenlock Christison.

Having been Sentenced to Banishment.

Comes into the Court.

there was silence in the Court; but *you* recovering *your* swoon, or the Spirit of Iniquity rising up over all in *you* again, *you* began to gather strength, and recover heart in *your* wickedness, and one cries out, *Here is another*, fetch him up to the Bar, said *you*, which *your* Marshal performed, and bad him pluck off *his* Hat, who said, *No, I shall not*. Then said *your* Secretary Rawson, that old Instrument of Iniquity, Is not *your* name *Wenlock Christison*? *Wenlock* said, *Yea*. Said the Governor, *John Endicot*, (a man whose hands have been much imbrued in the blood of the Innocent, as he hath had to do in the Sufferings of the Oppressed, (as in the former Relation is more at large expressed) *I* say *your* Governour said unto him, after he had acknowledged *his* name (which he denyed not, though in the face of death, which he came to encounter with, as aforesaid, in the power of the Lord) and to look *you* in the face as to that) What dost thou here? Wast thou not Banished upon pain of Death? *Wenlock* answered, *Yea, I was*. (See how Truth enables a man to bear *his* Testimony, though the consequence proves the death, or dissolution by cruelty of him that bears it; as he did who went before, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good Confession, who when they came to take him with Clubs and Staves, and he had asked them, Whom seek ye? *Jesus of Nazareth*, said they, *I am he*, said he; which struck them backwards, yet they came on him again, and had him; and put him to death; The same it did in *you*, to come upon this man, as aforesaid; and the same Spirit of *Jesus* *you* see enables to do the same things now.) What dost thou here then? said *your* Governour. He cryed, That he was come to warn them that they should shed no more Innocent blood, for the blood that *you* have shed already cries to the Lord God for vengeance to come upon *you*. Whereupon *you* said, Take him away Jaylor; The recompence *you* returned him who came with *his* life in *his* hand, at the command of the Lord, and in *his* mighty Power, to the astonishment of *you*, that any should dare thus to come to warn *you*, who came in love, and in the Agony of *his* Soul, to cry out unto *you* for *your* own good, that the vengeance of the Lord might come upon *you*; but to Jaylor him *you* had away, leaving *his* Friend and fellow-sufferer,

And warns them,

And is committed to Prison.

of whom he so warned you, to be tryed for his life, and whom you afterwards put to death, as the sequel manifests.

So your Court rose, and after a while sat again, and before you, Edward Wharton, John Chamberlain, and the other three afore-
 said, you caused to be called, and Edward Wharton standing at your Bar, with his Hat on, your Deputy Governor Bellingham stood up, and said, Who is that, Edward Wharton? Surely it is not Edward Wharton? W. Ledra Replyed, Thou shouldst not lie, for thou knowest it is Edward Wharton; Whereupon a great stir was in your Court, and the cry was, That William ought to be carried out and Whipt, for giving the lie, (which he did not, but civilly admonished him in the Word of truth, that he should not have done that which he ought not to have done, which was to lie, which done he had, and he called the thing by its proper Name, which was a lie, which was contrary to the Truth) in the face of the open Court, to your Deputy Governour, Who should not have lyed in the face of the open Court, who sat as Judge, and that upon the Lives and Liberties, and corporal punishments of others, and so should have been a better example, and so had gone without reproof, which now was given him by the Truth; Said William, But I have spoken Truth; but the Deputy Governour did but Jest, (as was said by some of the Court) and jesting is lawful, for Elias jested with Baals Priests; See your Religion, and the height of it, who put men to death for Religion, who force the Scriptures, as if they justified what was not Truth; and produce the Scriptures to prove what is not truth, for the Scripture saith, The Devil was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the Truth. And lie not one to another. And all liars shall have their part in the Lake that burneth with Fire and Brimstone. And foolish jesting, which things are not convenient, but rather giving of thanks; for, for these things sake the Wrath of God comes on the Children of Disobedience; Thus for Lying, thus for Jestings. Now as to the Parallel of Elias and Baals Priests, and what your Deputy Governour said, You may cut your selves as Baals Priests, and cry, Oh Baal hear us; as they did from morning to evening: But no answer will you have from that part of the Scripture to
 make

Edw. W. Bar-
 ton, &c.

Joh. 8. 44.
 Col. 3. 9.
 Rev. 21. 8.
 Ephes. 5. 4.

make good *your* Parallel; for *Elias* spake of *Baal* as he was, that is to say, that *he* could not hear, *he* was not that which *they* took him to be, and prayed unto *him* for; that *he* was not *God*, and so by those *Ironical* or *Apostrophical* expressions, reproved, or scoffed *them* in the *Power* of the *Lord*, who laughs at the *ungodly* train, and at the calamity of *them* who hearken not to the *Voice* of *Wisdom*, and turn not at *his* reproof (that is) inflicts *Judgement* on *them*, and hath no mercy. But what is this to *Richard Bellinghams* saying, *Who is that, Edward Wharton?* Surely it is not *Edward Wharton*. Or what doth this justify either *Lying*, or *foolish* *Jetting*? (take it in the most favourable sence *you* can put it, which *you*, such a Court as *you*, *you*, who have set *your* selves up as a *Scandart* to the *Nation*, as the *height* of *Religion* for *emphatical*, and not to be denied, that all that *you* say is not *Religion*, ought not, must not be; and the Professors thereof, though *they* neither say nor do any thing, nor are *Convict* of any one thing by the *Scriptures* to be *Erronious*, but forbear coming into *your* *Jurisdiction*, who are not of *your* *Religion*, who are *Englishmen* as well as *you*, and have as much right to *Sojourn* there as *you*, must be *Imprisoned*, *whipt*, *sold* for *Bond-slaves*, have their *Ears* cut, their *Limbs* burnt, be *Banished*, and put to *Death*. Oh horrible Monsters, beyond the Parallel of former *Generations*, *Cheats*, *Impostors*, who fled *Old England* because of *Conscience*, and now do these things to men, shall I say, because of *Conscience*; Nay, but on the foot of *Humanity*, of *Nature*, of *breathing* in the *Air*, of *living* on the *Earth*, which is appointed for their *Habitation*, which *God* made for *Man*; which *you* men, deny to men of the *same* mould and blood with *your* selves, who are as much *men* as *you*, and as much related to the *Earth* as *you*; the *Air*, the place of *habitation*, and have as much right; who controul the *God* of *Heaven*, or take upon *you* so to do, (who made all men on the face of the *Earth* of *one* blood, and appointed the bonds of their *Habitations*) who will not that it shall be so; but rear *his* *Creatures*, whom *he* hath made, and turn *them* out of being in *this* *World*, whom *he* hath brought, and given being to in the *World*, who put *your* *Laws* above
his;

his; who destroy *his* Creation; who ravish the Scripture, which proceeded from *his* Spirit of Truth, and the Power of *him* who in *them* speaks, to speak *your* Lusts, to justify *your* Leasings, to serve *your* Pleasure against the Truth, and the Children thereof, whom *you* cause *thus* cruelly to suffer as because of Truth, or on the foot of it, and bring the Scriptures to justify, (at least) *your* Deputy Governours lightness in the Seat of Judgement, where *you* put the Innocent to death, because of Truth; Ages and Generations to come will hardly think this can be verified of *you*, but this of *you* is so, and of *you* is verified, for which *you* shall receive according to *your* deeds.

So *you* called Edward Wharton to the Bar, and the Warrant of *his* Commitment ye caused to be read; which was as followeth. Ed. Wharton called to the Bar.

To the Constables of Salem, or either of them.

YOU are required in his Majesties Name (see how *his* Majesty is brought to it; but anon I shall shew how *you* have served *him* whom *you* have called *his* Majesty) to Apprehend the Body of Edward Wharton, and him safely to bring before me, to answer such Objections as shall be laid unto him, concerning the QUAKERS.

John Endicott.

Which Warrant the † Constable exercised on *him* in *his* † Tho. Roots. House at Salem, and brought *him* to Boston, through the Countrey, with his black Staff, as some notorious Offender; which now being read, Edward Wharton asked *your* Governour what *he* had now to lay to *his* Charge? Instead of answering unto which, as *he* ought to have done, seeing *he* was now the second time before *him*, by virtue of the said Warrant; which so said, as aforesaid, *your* Governour spoke to *him* about the Hat, and how *he* pitied *him* that *he* should be so deluded, And questioned about his Hat.
(yet

(yet he Imprisoned him, and afterwards Banishd him, (who had been long his Neighbour in Salem) on pain of Death, for being so deluded, who being so deluded he pretended to pity. On deep Hypocresie, and killing Cruelty!) Edward Wharton said; That as for the Hat, it would do him but little good; and as for Truth, it did delude none, but by it (said he) am I made to see, and know that the Grace of God which hath appeared unto all men, teacheth us to deny ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this World; and now by the power of this Grace I am made willing, said he (And had you any sence in you of good, or were you not as the Adamant, you would have minded it, considering you knew what he had been; and how since he was convinced of the Truth, he was changed; but things of this nature, bear nothing upon you till you come to be broken in pieces) That as his Name hath suffered by my vain Conversation, so now to suffer for his Name and Truth, (a good confession, and fit for you to have minded) accounting it greater Riches to suffer affliction with the People of God; than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; and this, through his Grace, in my measure I can witness, said he.

The Governour
scoffs at the
measure of
God; the men-
tioning thereof

Then replied the Governour, in scoffing sort, In my measure (see how words of soberness, and Truth, and the Scriptures, and what every one of you should witness, and in the deepest gravity speak thereof, as those who knew, and ought so to do, the measure of God in them, the manifestation of the Spirit which is given to every one to profit withal, of which (it seems) you are ignorant) this is right the Quakers words; (and are they not the words of Truth?) Hail thou Grace? said your Governour; Yea, replied Edward. How dost know (said your Governour) that thou hast Grace? Edward answered, He that believeth in the Son of God, need not go to others to know; for he hath the witness in himself, as saith John; And this witness is the Spirit. Your answer hereunto was, Go call the Keeper; the Keeper came, Do you know this man? Yes, said the Faylor, Go take him to Prison, said your Governour. But said Edward Wharton, Seeing thou hast sent thy Warrant, and caused the Constable to take me out of my House, and lead me through the Countrey, from Town to Town, like an evil doer, I

Edward is
Committed.

would

would now know what thou hast to say to my charge? Nay, replied your Governour, you shall know that hereafter; and he commanded the Jaylor to take him away, (see what strangers you are to the Grace of God that bringeth Salvation, and to the Witness, that he that believeth hath in himself, and to the Scriptures, and the Spirit that speaketh in them, and Justice and Equity amongst men; that a man speaking soberly to these things, and according to Truth, in answer to your demands, must be sent to Prison) and nothing said to him wherefore he was so sent, when he reasonably desired it; but to Prison he must go, and there Truth must be held, or he that professeth it; which cannot, or will not be suffered to enter into you; And the Scripture is fulfilled, *Truth shall be in the streets, and Equity cannot enter; who make a man an Offender for a word, and hate him that reproveth in the Gate*; And yet call your selves the Church of Christ, whose Garment was never stained with Persecution with the blood of the Innocent: But *she* was Persecuted, and her Garment stained with her Innocent blood; who are of the stock of Cain, who shed his Brothers blood for Religion; who went from the Presence of the Lord into the Land of Nod, as you have done, of the Generation of the Devil, of him, of whom Cain was, who was of that wicked One (said John) who slew his Brother; And wherefore slew he him, because his own work was evil, and his Brothers good? So see your Generation, and behold your Stock and Parentage.

So away he was had to Prison, and there kept with William And to Prison he is had.
 Ledra, close Prisoner night and day; sometimes in a very little Room, little bigger then a Saw-pit, having no liberty, but when you caused them to be brought unto your Courts, to Inquisition, which was in order to secure Bonds, and Death, where they were also Prisoners; which was all the breathing they had in your Jayl of Cruelty, or Den of Leopards, miserable liberty, and yet it was the best they received at your hands; who are become cruel, (as I said) like the Ostriches in the Wilderness; and worse then the Sea-monsters, who draw forth the kress, and give suck to their young: And yet ye would be accounted the Members of Christ, whose Spirit is gentle, meek, *Fam. 3. 17.*
easy to be entreated; full of goodness, mercy and compassion, Bro- 2 Pet. 1. 7.

therly kindness and charity, which you are fled from, into Anger, Hatred, Malice, Wrath, Murder, Unnaturalness, Implacableness, Unmercifulness, Cruelty; The proper Characters of Abaddon, and Appolion; King of the Locusts, that John saw coming out of the bottomless Pit; and the proper effects of the spirit of the evil One, the Devil, whose Children these things speak you to be, who with him shall receive according to your deeds.

Friends; What is the Cause? (said Edward Wharton oft to you, when had before you) And wherefore have I been fetcht from my Habitation, where I was following my honest Calling, and Edw. charged here laid up as an evil doer? Your Hair is too long (replied you) and you are disobedient to that Commandment, which saith; *wiech his Hair being too long.* Honour thy Father and Mother. To which, said Edward, Wherein? In that you will not put off your Hat (said you) before the Magistrates. It's not so; (replied Edward) but I love and own all Magistrates, and Rulers, who are for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. But cried Secretary Rawson in answer hereunto, Come to the Bar; Yea, (said Edward) and unto the Bench also; for we know thou hast no evil justly to charge us withal. Hold up your hand (cried Rawson) Nay, replied W. Ledra, and Ed. Wharton, For thou hast no evil justly to lay to our charge. Well, said Ed. Wharton, *is Sentenced to Banishment.* Rawson, Edward Wharton, here your Sentence of Banishment. Friends (replied Ed. Wharton to you) Have a care what you do, for if you murder me, my blood will lie heavy upon you. Rawson answered, Edward Wharton, attend to your Sentence of Banishment; (strange work, and strange proceedings!) You are, upon pain of Death, to depart this Jurisdiction, (though he was one of that Jurisdiction, and had an House therein that cost him near one hundred pounds; the Line for the measuring of the Ground, for which your Governour when it was measured to him first did hold; and this is your Correction for his Hair, and his Hat; Will Generations to come believe that this is so? yet so it is) it being the eleventh of the instant 11th. 1st. March, by the one and twentieth of the same, on the pain of death 166^o.

A cruel Sentence, and most severe to be given to a man for his

his Hat, and Hair ; for those were the Crimes that were laid to his Charge, (Edward replied to you) Friends, I am a single man, and I have dealings with some people, it were good I had time to make clear with all, and then if you have power to murder me you may ; (see the resolution and Justice of a man, led by, and given up to serve the Truth ; he would owe nothing to any man, and would have time to discharge his Creditors ; and then can lay down his Life in your time and hour, if the Lord shall permit, for his Testimony to the Truth) Hereupon your Governour, and Rawson, having laid their heads together, John Endicot, your Governour said, If we should give him an hundred dayes it is all one. Nay, replied Edward Wharton, I shall not go away, therefore be careful what you do. Meaning as to the consequence, which by your Law was death, if within those dayes he were found within your Jurisdiction, who told you, He should not go out, he should not go away, therefore warned you of his blood ; nevertheless you would give him but ten dayes more, namely, to the last of the said month ; A short time for a man to rid him from his House and business, never to return, but with the expectation of the loss of his life ; and which also shewed what little regard you had to the Countrey, that would give him no more time to satisfie his engagements therein, which being not satisfied, the Countrey suffered ; and yet you Banish him upon pretence of your love to the Countrey ; which the Countrey may take notice of, that they may distinguish between them who desire liberty, not for their lives, but to discharge their engagements to the Countrey ; and you, who will neither give liberty sufficient, nor life to discharge the Countrey : Generations to come, if these do not, will see, and judge the difference, and condemn you for a Generation of cruel men, who pretend to the Countrey, to serve thereby your cruelty on the Countrey, and the Innocent. So having received his Sentence, the Court being very full of People, Edward cryed aloud in the midst of them, and said, All people take notice what horrible, wicked, and unjust men these are, for after they had unrighteously taken me from my house, where, when the Constable came in, I was found following my honest Calling, in the fear

But charged
with nothing,
but his Hat
and his Hair.

fear of the Lord, he forced me out, and led me along (with his black Staff) the Countrey, like some evil doer, to the Governours House; where I asked the Governour, what he had to Charge me withal, who said, You shall know hereafter. And now they have kept me almost a year close Prisoner, night and day, they have Banished me on pain of Death, and for ought I know, they will murther me, and yet they have nothing to charge me withal, but my Hat, and my Hair.

Hereupon up started your Secretary Rawson, and taking the Book of Records, read to the People, How that contrary to Law, Edward Wharton had travelled up and down with W. Robinson, and Marmaduke Stevenson, (a sore Crime indeed) for which a man must be Banished his Habitation upon pain of death, for travelling the Countrey with two Servants of the Lord, who did none any wrong, whom you had murdered. To which Edward replied, What readest thou that for? have ye not plowed blood-furrows on my back for that already, although you had no Law for it? It seems you had Whipt him cruelly for it, and Imprisoned him, although (as he said) you had no Law for it; and so, if you had had Law, he had answered it; yet your right hand of Iniquity (Rawson) would needs have flopt the people in the mouth with that for which he had so suffered, as the Cause or Reason wherefore he was now Banished: See what unrighteousness dwells in your Habitations, and how full of deceit your coverings are; but the Righteous God sees you, who will render unto you according to your deeds.

Rawson being thus repulst, up stands your Deputy Governour Billingham, and to mend the matter, or rather to carry it on with blood and cruelty, where the other could not with Law, and he would have him Whipt, and carried to Prison again, though he was ordered to Banishment; (Oh what tossings, and tumblings, and turnings up and down to destroy the Innocent, and to wear out the Servants of the most high God, are here, for their Testimony to him.) And Humphrey Adderton, your Major General, (of whom, and the just Judgements of God upon him, I have hereafter to speak) who when Mary Dyar was murdered by you, his Souldiers came in a glorying manner, giving a volley of shot about the Court-house, which
your

your Governour was offended with, not that such triumphs were unseemly, but because *Priest Wilson's Wife was sick*, and that would disturb her; And to some other of our Friends, hereafter to be related, he said, That *Mary Dyar* hung as a *flag for them to take warning by*) said to *Edward Wharton*, You have your liberty in the Court, therefore do you lequiet, (see what you account a disturbance, when a man Sentenced to such a suffering without ground of Law, speaking of the injustice and cruelty offered him, as being so Senrenc'd, for what he had formerly suffered, though without Law, which *Rawson* would have put upon him) therefore do you be quiet, or else depart the Court, which he commanded him to do.

So that Court you finished your will on *William Ledra*, whom you Sentenced to death, and *John Chamberlain*, and *Robert Harper* (whom you Banisht on pain of death) and his Wife upon pain of Imprisonment; and returned *W. Ledra* to Prison, in order to Execution, which on the fourteenth of the same month, after your Lector was ended, your Sacrifice of blood you performed in manner following.

Your bloody Sacrifice being ended, as aforesaid, which you usually performed, when you murdered the Innocent, in imitation of *Jezabels* Fast, before *Naboth* was set on high, (high Religious pretences for the height of blood, Priests and Pulpits serve to what you on, to cut off that, of those in whom it is, which is come to manifest the deceit and cruelty of you and your Priests; so going to your Altar, and then washing your hands in the blood of the Innocent, contrary to what the Prophet said, I will wash my hands in Innocency, and so will I *Psalm 26. 16.* compass thine Altar, O Lord. Your Governour came up, and a guard of Souldiers to the Prison, who being to receive the Innocent for Sacrifice, off his Irons were knockt, with which he had lain down, and risen up, being chained to a Log, during a miserable and cold Winter, as aforesaid, according as your *Jayles* said unto him, when he asked the *Jayler*, When shall my Irons be taken off, When thou art going to be hang'd, said your unmerciful *Jayler*, as hath been related. So *William* having taken his farewell of *Wenlock Christison*, (who freely came into the Court as his second, or follower in the Testimony

† One Richard Weight, your under Ma shal when Mary Dyar was executed came with his Hat in his hand into your Court, saying, If it please your Worships, Mrs. Dyer is turned off. So vaunting over her.

W. Ledra Sentenced to death *John Chamberlain* and *Rob. Harper* to Banishment.

Rob. Harpers Wife to Imprisonment.

14th. 1rst. mon. 1668. *W. Ledra* led to Execution, &c.

The Passages.

mony of the Lord, with *his* Life in *his* hand, as hath been spoken) and the rest of *his* Friends, then in bonds for the *same* Testimony, with *most* tender imbraces and answers of love, as a *sheep* dumb before the *Shearers*, when *they* called *him*, went forth to the *slaughter*, in the *meekness* of the Spirit of *Jesus*, whose Testimony *he* bare *willingly*, resigned up in the *Will* of the Lord, to seal the *truth* of which, *he* testified with *his* blood, which *you* were ready to spil, whom *your* Guard encompassed round about, to prevent *his* Speech with *Friends*, or *his* speaking with any, (as *you* did when *you* murdered *our* other *three* Friends, causing the *Drums* to beat, that none might bear it; a more then *Turkish* cruelty) which *Edward Wharton* perceiving, and how *your* Guard strove to prevent *his* speaking with *William*, said, *Friends*, *What* will *ye* shew *your* selves worse then bloody Bonners brood? (and well might *he* so say, when as *no* such thing is Recorded of *Bonner*; and is beyond the president of the *English* Nation, which usually detests *such* barbarisms) *What* will *you* not let me come near my suffering Friend before *you* kill *him*? Oh said one † *Edward*, *It* will be *your* turn next, (who was so little in fear of *you*, that (as hath been before said) *he* told *you*, *He* would not go from *you*, when *you* Sentenc'd *him* to Banishment upon pain of death; and now accompanied *his* suffering Friend to the Tree, though under *your* observation and malice for so doing, who could kill all that were friendly to any whom *your* cruelty did kill. And said *Oliver*, *your* bloody Captain, (who led the Guard that murdered the *former*, and whose *Drums* beat that *they* might not be heard, when *he* led *them* to the Tree) coming again to *Edward*, *If* *you* speak a word, *I* will stop *your* mouth, (what wicked proceedings are here, that men design'd to be murdered, must neither speak, nor be spoken to) *What* hast *thou* to do, *James*, to threaten me thus? said *Edward*. *Oliver* replied, *I* am appointed to keep the *Countrie* peace here. Which was (as it seems) thus to stop the mouth of the *Innocent*, and to forbid any one from speaking unto *them*, when *you* are about to kill *them*; And this is *New England*, and the Government of *them*, who for Religion do kill.

† Anthony
Chickley of
Boston.

To the Tree.

So to the foot of the Ladder *your* Guard brought this Innocent

cent Servant of the Lord, and pinnioned his Arms, where he took leave of his Friend *Edward Wharton*, as he was about to ascend the Ladder. To whom he said, *All that will be Christs Disciples, must take up the Cross*; and standing where your Guard ordered him, with an exceeding fresh and living countenance, he spake to the people, and said, *For bearing my Testimony for the Lord against Deceivers, and the Deceived, am I brought here to suffer*. Which took much with the People, and wrought tenderness in many, seeing his meek and cheerful suffering, and hearing what he said; which an old Priest which was there, with a Woman behind him, attending the Execution, perceiving, to take off the edge of the people, and to quench the tenderness that sprang in them, with a false tongue, and bloody heart, cryed out, and said, *People, I would not have you think it strange, to see a man so willing to die, (so he was not afraid to die, by the confession of one of your own) for it is no new thing; And you may read, how the Apostle saith, That some should be given up to strong delusions, and even dare to die for it*.

Said to be
the Priest.

Now I would fain know where the Apostle so saith, I am sure it is not contained in the Scriptures of Truth; and where then is this your old Priests Record, who with a lie in his mouth, and that of the Scriptures, and the holy Man of God, sought to quench the tenderness that arose in the People, to this holy Man of God for his Testimony to the Truth. These be your Teachers, and these are your Guides, false and blind Leaders of the blind, and so it is no marvel that you both fall into the Ditch. Indeed the Apostle saith, *That yet peradventure for a good man one would even dare to die*. Where hath he said what is before asserted? Men had need to know something else then such cheats as these, as dare put a lie upon the Scriptures of Truth, and the Apostle of Christ Jesus, which commended what he said to that of God in every mans Conscience, and dared so to do; but this man dared to belie them both, to falsifie the Witness of God that arose in the people. This is one of the blind Guides of New England, who lead their Disciples into blood, the blood of the Innocent; and this is one of your Shepherds, who cause you to err, and hurl you to

Rom. 5. 7.

His last words.

He is put to death.

blood, to draw the *Wrath* of the *Lord*, and his *Vengeance* upon you, that there be no remedy; thus much for the *Priest*. But as for *William*, as a man who was gathered up to *God*, and in peace with him, for whom he suffered; As the *Murderer* was putting the *Halter* about his Neck, in the meekness and sense of *Christ Jesus*, said, *I commit my Righteous Cause unto thee, O God*. So your *Murderer* making haste, being charged so to do; and turning of the *Ladder*, as the *Ladder* was turning off, *William Ledra*, the suffering *Lamb*, and *Servant* of *Jesus Christ*, who there thought not his *Life* dear to *Death*, for the *Testimony* of his *Truth*, cryed out, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*. Who rests with the *Lord*, and whom he received; who because of him you would not suffer to live amongst you, but cut him off from the earth; for which the *Lord* will cut you off, and render unto you according to your deeds. The fourth person, that for bearing *Testimony* to the Name of the *Lord*, and barely for being such a one as is called a *Quaker*, and coming into your *Jurisdiction*, without wronging of any, or being convicted of one *Opinion*, or *Principle* that is contrary to *Godliness*, ye have thus slain, and hung upon a *Tree*; after the many other most exquisite *Sufferings*, that at times before they received at your hands, as hath been formerly made mention of, in this, and the former *Treatise*, whose blood you have to answer for, and which together makes up a *sum* of *Judgements* upon you, for which the *Lord* will not pardon you, but as you have loved blood, so blood shall be given you, It is the Word of the *Lord*: and all the *Judgements* which the *Servants* of the *Lord* have testified, as of you, and as coming upon you, shall come upon you, and you shall not escape; the issue will prove that what hath been said, is so, and hath been accomplished, to which I leave it, and return to what yet remains of your account for the *sufferings* of the *Innocent*.

His Body cut down.

William Ledra's Body being dead, by your forcing the natural *Life* out of it, by which it lived, and cruelly murdering him; I say, This his Body being dead, your *Executioner* cut it down; and left it should be as barbarously used as were the Bodies of *William Robinson*, and *Marmaduke Stevenson*, whom before you had murdered in that place, and whose Bodies be-

ing

ing stiff, your Executioner cut down, and let fall to the ground, none holding *them* when *they* were so cut, to the breaking of the *Scul* of *William Robinson*, as in the former Treatise is mentioned, (an action most barbarous.) *Edward Wharton*, and † *two* Friends more attended the fall of it, and having † *Robert* catch it in *their* Arms, laid it on the ground, until your Mur- *Harper*, and derer had stript it of the Cloaths, who when he had so done, *John Cham-* confess he was a comely man (as he was) and *Mary Djar* a *berlaine*, and comely woman, and the rest well ordered men according to *Philip Verin* *their* years, who, it seems, wanted nothing, or had it not within *them*, but your spirit of blood, for which you slew *them*; *Ages* and *Generations* to come (as I have often said) will hardly believe that such things as these should be said of you, as so done by you; *they* are Actions so barbarous, so rude, so inhumane, so brutish, so devilish, so contrary to the Spirit of *Christ*, whom you seem to profess, but put to death the Witnesses of him; who build the *Tombs* of the *Prophets*, and garnish *their* Sepulchres, as *they* did of old, and say, If you had lived in the *dayes* of your *Fathers*, you would not have slain the *Servants*, the *Prophets*; so ye bear witness unto your selves, That you are the Children of those that killed the *Prophets*, fill ye up the measure of your *Fathers*; ye *Serpents*, ye *Generation* of *Vipers*; How can ye escape the *Damnation* of *Hell*?

His Body, being stript, the *Friends* aforesaid were suffered And buried by *Friends*. to take, and lay it in a *Coffin*, and to bury it where *they* thought meet, which the out-cry of the *Countrey* (it's like) lead unto, because of your *Murderer's* drawing the *Bodies* of the said *W. Robinson*, and *Marmaduke Stevenson*, very barbarously by the *Legs* into the *Hole* that near the *Gallows* was digged for *them*, after *their* shirts were ript off, which place, a *Friend* (old *Nich. Upsal*) endeavoured to Impale; and stuff being brought for that purpose, because it was an open Field, where *Beasts* might have turned *their* *Bodies* up, and so prey'd upon *them*; you threatned to pull down, if it should be put up, as in the *Book* of the first Part of our *Friends* *Sufferings* (by your hand) is more at large rehearsed; so thinking *them* not fit to live on the *Earth*, nor to be buried as, or among, men.

Well, thus far of this cruel Murder, and the manner thereof,

so far as at this distance have come to hand, and *your* proceedings thereupon, which *I* have reckoned together, that in *one* Period *I* might make an end of *this* bloody Tragedy, wherein (as *you* see) *you* are concern'd. *I* shall now return a little back in point of time, and see how *your* lips twittered after another draught of blood, and *your* stomachs rould, whilst *your* Janizaries forc't a Dinner of blood for *you*, from the life of the other.

Yet before *I* pass to what remains, *I* cannot omit *one* passage, which is concerning a Speech that was given out to cover *your* cruelty, That if *William Ledra* would, he might go out of Prison, as if it were *his* own fault that he there remained; of which proof being made by *one Thomas Wilkie* a stranger, who was a Spectator of *this* bloody Tragedy, and it being found by him to be a lie, he wrote thereof to *George Lead*, a Master of the *America* of *Dartmouth*, then at *Barbadoes*, which (with the rest of that passage) *I* shall rehearse in *his* own words, which according to the Copy of *his* Letter, is as followeth.

Boston, the 26th. of March, 61.

ON the fourteenth of this Instant, there was one *William Ledra* put to death, the people of the Town told me, He might go away if he would; but when *I* made further enquiry, *I* heard the Marshal say, That he was chained in Prison, from the time he was Condemned, to the day of Execution. *I* am not of his opinion; but yet truly *me* thought the Lord did mightily appear in the man; *I* goes to one of the Magistrates of *Cambridge*, which had been of the Court that Condemned him, as he told me himself; And *I* asked him by what rule he did it. He answered me, that he was a Rogue, a very Rogue: But what is this to the question? *I* said, Where is *your* Rule? He said, He had abused Authority. Then *I* goes after the man, and asked him, Whether he did not look on it as a breach of Rule, to slight and undervalue Authority? And *I* said, That *Paul* gave *Festus* the Title of Honour, though he were a Heathen; *I* do not say those Magistrates

distresses are Heavens; I said then, when the man was on the Ladder; he looked on me, and called me Friend; and said, Know that this day I am willing to offer up my life for the Witness of Jesus. Then I desired leave of one of the Officers to speak; I said, Gentlemen, I am a stranger both to your Persons and Country, and yet a Friend to both; and I cried aloud, For the Lords sake take not away the mans life; I said, Remember Gamaliels Counsel to the Jews, If this be of God it will stand, if not, it will come to nothing; but be careful you be not found fighters against God. And the Captain said, Why had you not come to the Prison? and the Reason was, Because I heard the man might go if he would; and therefore I called him down from the Tree, Come down William, I said, You may go away if you will. The Captain Oliver said, It was no such matter; and asked, What I had to do with it? And besides, told me to be gone; and I told him, I was willing, for I cannot endure to see this I said; and when I was in the Town, some did seem to sympathize my grief; but I told them, They had no Warrant from the Word of God, nor President from our Country, nor Power from his Majesty, to hang the man.

I rest your Friend,

Thomas Wilky.

Your Governour having been at the Prison, when the Guard was there, for the Execution of W. Ledra, and your Souldiers having him out to the place of Execution, as the Jews did Jesus, your Court sat, and you hoped (no doubt) but that now you were Paramount, and all must bow to you; now that you had ascended your bloody Throne, and that the blood of the Innocent you dare to draw again in the sight of the people; at least, that the death of W. Ledra would abate, or cool, or bring under the Spirit of Truth in Wenlock Christison, whom you had in hold, who came in upon you when you were trying W. Ledra, to warn you of shedding any more Innocent blood, who feared you not, whom you sent to Prison, as aforesaid; who speaking a few words to the people, who in great multitudes flockt about the

the Prison, when *W. Ledra* was had out for death, your Jayler put into a hole, and now you caused to be drawn to your Judgment Seat, to see whether your bloody face would fright him, whom the Sentencing of his Friend to death would not make to be afraid; and so for him you send to be brought before you, whilst the other was upon the execution, and to him you say, Except you will renounce your Religion, you shall surely die. Your Governour, *John Endicot*; and Deputy Governour, *Richard Bellingham*, being both present, this Mahometical, and grand Sulfamib vapour, nothing afrighted *Wenlock Christison*, but the Power of God in him; for which he suffered, lifted him up above your bloody Throne, and sufferings, and threats of blood, and the Spirit of the Lord which now was, in a manner finishing in *W. Ledra*, who was offering up, and who by the eternal Spirit was offered up, notwithstanding all the height of your cruelty, whom you thought by example of him thus to terrifie, instead of shrinking from, came upon you, and made him able to say, *Nay, I shall not change my Religion, nor seek to save*

Wenlock Christison, called, and charged, and his answer for his Life.

He is sent to Prison.

3d. & 4th. month, 1661

† *Elipheld Stratton*, who made his grave clothes for him.

And had before the court again.

The Court confounded.

my life, neither do I intend to deny my Master; but if I lose my life for Christs sake, and the Preaching of the Gospel, (for he was a Minister) I shall save my life. Which noble valour for the Truth, so returned upon you, and gave you such a check, that after a few more words, though you smote at his life, you sent him away to Prison again, without being able to take it, and left him there to be kept till your next Court, which was to be in the third and fourth months, 1661. And *W. Ledra* being dead, after some little space of time, that these things were transacted, news coming of the certainty thereof, a certain person in tenderness said to *Wenlock*, *Oh, thy turn is next; To which he replied, The Will of the Lord be done.*

The Court being come to sit, which was in the third and fourth months, 1661. The Lord mingled a spirit of confusion amongst you, that you were in a manner broken, nor could you hold together to put to death the Innocent; the sense of the Innocent blood that ye had spilt, and which you were ready to spill, and the consequence thereof being so weighty on some of you, that they could not consent to the putting of this Servant of the Lord to death, who thus came upon you in the

Power

Power of the Lord, when you were upon the Tryal of *W. Le-*
dra for death, insomuch that your Governour, *John Endi-*
cor, was wrath, and went away from the Court discontented, and kept from it for the space of two dayes, which sore troubled those of you which panted after the blood of the Inno-
 cent, that they prevailed with him at length to come, having assured him, that if he would so do, and perform his place, and discharge his duty, they would proceed against *Wenlock*, according to their Law. See what work here is, and what travel and conspiracy to take away the life of the Righteous from the earth, *Simon and Levi*, *John Endicor*, and those of you that thirsted after blood, Brethren, Instruments of cruelty are in your Habitation; Oh my Soul, come not thou into your secret, unto your Assembly, mine Honour be not thou united, may it be said of you, as it was by old Jacob, of those his Sons, *Gen. 49. 5, 6.* Cursed be your anger, for it is fierce; and your wrath, for it is cruel: I will divide you in Jacob, and scatter you in Israel, saith the Lord, as it was said to them in the following words, *vers. 7.*

The Governour
 weib. and ris-
 eth discontented.

He is prevail-
 ed with, to sit
 again.

Well, joyn he doth with you, (for I have Relation in this, onely to those of you, who together joyned to destroy the In-
 nocent) and now you are become a bond again, and made up (a sort of you) to finish your black work, and deed of dark-
 ness, at which (as I may say; for it is man against man, one professor of liberty of Conscience against another; those that fled for Conscience, destroying for Conscience; men who were made with natural affection, which that which I have to nominate hath not) Hell would be abashed, and the black Center of everlasting darkness would, if it could, or if it were proper so to say, (in the aggravation of the height of your wickedness I speak it, wanting wherewithal to compare you, or words to utter you as you deserve) hide it self, and creep into obscu-
 rity for evermore, and after two weeks, the space of time of the revolution of these your Conspiracies of blood, during which the natural Sun in the Firmament shone not; A re-
 markable demonstration, both of the displeasure of the Lord against that your work, and the nature of the work which you were then about, black within, and black without. The

The Governour
 and Court sit
 again.

The Sun in the
 Firmament
 not shining in
 two weeks, the
 space of time
 of their con-
 spiracies for
 his Life.

true

true figure and representation of this your wickedness and Work.

He is brought
to the Bar.

And tryed.

† But are you
of the same
mind now,
who are turn-
ed Rebels to
the King?

The passages
Of his Tryal.

Wenlock's
Prophecy of
Judgement on
New England

And in parti-
cular on M.
G. Adderton.

So you being agreed, before the Judgement Seat Wenlock was brought, and to your Bar, who thither came in a good dominion, because he felt the Power of God over all, who being there set, your Governour asked him, What he had to say for himself, why he might not die? I have done nothing worthy of death, (replyed Wenlock) if I had, I refuse not to die. Thou art come in amongst us (said another of you) in Rebellion, which is as† the sin of Witchcraft, and ought to be punished, (ye Blasphemers, do you set your selves in the place of God, who decrees unrighteous Decrees, and write Grievances that ye have prescribed? And do you call the breach of these things, your Laws of blood, in a man that through obedience to the Lord is come into your Dominion, as the Rebellion of Saul to God? Do you set your Posts by his Posts? He'll dash you to pieces) I came not in among you in Rebellion, (answered Wenlock) but in obedience to the God of Heaven, not in contempt to any of you, but in love to your Souls and Bodies, and that you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of your deeds done in the Body. Take heed (said he) for you cannot escape the Righteous Judgements of God. Then said your Major General Adderton, You pronounce Woes and Judgements, and those that are gone before you pronounced Woes & Judgements but the Judgements of the Lord God are not come upon us yet. (This is that your Major General, of whom I shall by and by have occasion to speak, and of the dreadful and Righteous Judgements of the Lord that came upon him) Be not proud (replyed Wenlock) neither let your Spirits be lifted up, God doth but wait, till the measure of your Iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly race, then will the Wrath of God come upon you to the uttermost; And as for thy part (see the Prophecy that soon after was fulfilled) it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and shall come as a Thief in the Night suddenly (and how soon after came it to pass, and in the manner as is afterward said?) when thou thinkest not of it.

By what Law (said Wenlock) will ye put me to death? We have a Law, (replyed you) and by our Law you are to die.

So said the Jews of Christ (Wenlock replied) *We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die.* Who impowered you (said he) to make that Law? One of you answered, *We have a Patient, and are the Patentees, Judge whether we have not power to make Laws?* Wenlock replied again, *How have you power to make Laws repugnant to the Laws of England?* Nay, said your Governour. Then (answered Wenlock) *you are gone beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your Patent; and this is more then you can answer.* And he cryed out, and said, *Are you Subjects to the King, yea or nay?* What good will that do you, replied your Secretary? (See how the matter touch't you; I shall have more to deal with you about this anon) What will you infer from that? Wenlock answered, *If you are, say so, for in your Petition to the King, you desire that he would protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel amongst his Royal Subjects, (we shall see anon whether you have done as you have said, when your Rebellion to the King, in his Commissioners, and his Orders, I shall draw before you) or words to that effect.* To which one of you said, Yea. Then Wenlock answered and said, *So am I, and for anything I know, am as good as you, if not better; for if the King did but know your hearts, as God knows them, he would see (and the issue hath proved it) that your hearts are as rotten towards him, as they are towards God.* Therefore seeing that you and I are Subjects to the King, I demand to be tryed by the Laws of my own Nation. You shall be tryed (replied you) by a Bench, and a Jury. That is not the Law, (said Wenlock) but the manner of it; for if you will be as good as your word, you must set me at liberty, for I never appears, heard, nor read, of any Law that was in England to hang Quakers. Your Governour replied, that there was a Law to hang Jesuites. Wenlock answered, *If you put me to death, it is not because I go under the name of a Jesuite, but a Quaker therefore (said he) I do appeal to the Laws of my own Nation.* Then one of you said, That he was in your hands, and had broken your Law, and you would try him. Wenlock denied to be tryed by your Law; yet the Jury you caused to be called over, and you told him, *He had liberty to object against them, or any of them.* Wenlock still appealed to the Law of his own

† This you Pretence or Plea of the Law for Jesuites is answered in the former Relation, p. 77, 78. when it is said that Law so you may be satisfied, for the Law will hang you for your Rebellion, rather shelter you for hanging Quakers instead of Jesuites.

He appeals to
England a
first, and se-
cond time.

His appeal is
denied.

Nation; but still you cryed out, That you would try him, and so denyed his Appeal. Then (said Wenlock) your will is your Law, and what you have power to do, that you will do. And seeing that the Jury must go forth on my life, this I have to say to you in the Fear of the living God, Jury take heed what you do, for you swear by the living God, that you will true cryal make, and just Verdict give according to the evidence: Jury look for your Evidence, What have I done worthy of death? keep your hands out of Innocent blood. To which one of the Jury replied, It is good Counsel.

The Jury go
in upon him.
They find him
guilty.

So away they went, but having received their Lesson from you, and being of the same spirit, quickly brought him in guilty, whereupon your Secretary said, Wenlock Christison, hold up your hand: I will not (said Wenlock) I am here, and can bear thee. Then he cryed, Guilty, or not Guilty. I deny all guilt, (replied Wenlock) for my Conscience is clear in the sight of God. Your Governour answered, The Jury hath condemned thee. But he answered, The Lord doth justifie me, who art thou that condemnest? Then you voted as to the Sentence of Death, and were in a manner confounded; for several could not vote him guilty of death, and so to death Sentence him, so far the Witness of God of the innocency of the man prevailed.

The Court di-
vided; some
refuse to vote
his Sentence.

Then said your Governour after they had voted once, and some of them would not consent, I could find in my heart (such a thirst had he after the blood of the Innocent) to go home, being in a great rage; and so misbehaved himself on the Seat of Judgement, that he furiously flung something on the Table. Wenlock cryed, It were better for thee to be at home, then here, for thou art about a bloody piece of work. Whereupon your Governour put the Court to vote again, which they did, notwithstanding there were some of you that would not consent, which inflamed your Governour, and filled him with wrath, so that he stood up, and said, You that will not consent, Record it. And being drunk with blood, like a man drunk, he said, I thank God, I am not afraid to give Judgement. (See to what a narrow strait things were brought, that he was constrained to force over Judgement in himself.) Wen-

The Court
votes, and
some dissent,
as Richard
Bussel, and
others.

lock Christison, bearken to your Sentence, You must return unto the

The Govern-
our wrothly
commands the
dissenters to
be recorded.
He gives Sen-
tence of death.
The Sentence.

lock Christison, bearken to your Sentence, You must return unto the

the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of Execution; and there you must be hanged until you be dead, dead, upon the thirtieth day of June, being the fifth day of the week. Which being thus cruelly pronounced, Wenlock Christison cryed, and said, *The Will of the Lord be done, in whose Speech after will I came amongst you, and in his Counsel I stand, feeling his his Sentence, eternal Power, that will uphold me until the last gasp.* I do not question it. Moreover he cryed, saying, *Know ye it unto you* And Prophesie all, that if you have power to take my life from me, that my Soul Quakers should shall enter into everlasting Rest, and peace with God, where you be put to death your selves shall never come: And if you have power to take my life from me, the which I do question, I do believe you shall not. † Eliz. Hooton ved more take Quakers lives from them, (note my words) I do not think to weary out the living God, by taking away the lives of his Mary Malins, Servants; what do you gain by it? for the last man that you put Kath. Chattam to death, here are † five come in his Room; and if you have Sackcloth & power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of Life in ten of his Servants, and send them among you in Burstow, Geo. my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your Wilson, besides the In- portion. For there is no peace to the Wicked, saith my God. habitants.

Then your Governour said, Take him away, so to Prison he was brought; being in much peace, and resting in sweet peace and quietness of Spirit, where he was detained from the fifth day to the third day of the week following, at which time one of your Marshals, and a Constable, came in to him, in the Prison, with an Order from the Court for his enlargement, with seven and twenty more of the Friends of Truth then in Prison for their Testimony to the Truth; who said, They were ordered by the Court to make him acquainted with their new Law; said Wenlock, what means this? Have you a new Law? Yes, said they. Then you have deceived most people, said Wenlock, Why? said they. Because, said Wenlock, they did think the Gallows had been your last Weapon, Have you got more yet? Yes, said they; Read it, said Wenlock; which they did. Then Wenlock said, Your Magistrates said, That your Law was a good and wholesome Law, made

He is sent to Prison, and out of thence, and that Jurisdiction given, with 27. more, viz. Joh. Chamberlain, Joh. Smith and Margret his Wife; Mary Trusk, Judith Poun, Pet. Peirson, Geo. Willson, Joh. Burstow, Eliz. Hooton, Joan Brokesup, Mary Malins, Kath. Chattam, Mary Wright, Hanna Wright, Sarah Burden, Sarah Coleman, and 3 or 4 of her Children, Ralph Allin, Richard Kenby.

for your peace, and the safe-guard of your Countrey; what are your hands now become weak? the Power of God is over you all.

Then the Prison doors were set open, and twenty seven more besides *Wenlock* were turned forth, as aforesaid, whereof two were stript to the Waste, and made fast to a Car's tayl, and

Two stript & Whipt through the Town of Boston, with twenty cruel stripes
 whipt, viz. Peter Pearson on their naked Backs and Shoulders; many mouths were o-
 Judith Broun pened, and the mighty day of the dreadful God was sounded

forth by the Servants of the mighty God, who wrought deliv-
 By Sword, and rance for his chosen Vessels; so into the Wilderness they were
 Gun. Into the driven by your Sword, and Clubmen, who had received Or-
 Wilderness. ders from you, thus to force them out of your Jurisdiction,

which they performed; Glory, glory, be given unto the Lord
 over all, saith my Soul, who never leaves nor forsakes the
 Righteous, but redeems his faithful Ones out of all their
 troubles; praise the Lord all his Saints, who are upon the Rock
 of Ages; and the Gates of Hell cannot prevail against you, saith
Wenlock Christison.

One thing more I think convenient to touch at, ere I pass
 from this Particular, which concurred in the Wisdom and Coun-
 sel of the Lord, to break this wicked Law of yours for blood, and
 to wear it out; you have heard how *Wenlock Christison* being
 Banished upon pain of death came in the dread, and Power, and
 motion of the Eternal God upon you, with his Life in his
 hand, when you had *William Wedra* before you, at the time
 you Sentenced him to die, whom you had not power to put to
 death, though you had him before you whilst you were Execut-
 ing *William*, but reserved him to your next Court; and now

Ed. Wharton your next Court being come, *Edward Wharton* aforesaid (whilst
 at the tryal of you were trying *Wenlock* for his Life) being an Inhabitant of
Wenlock.

Salem, and a House-keeper, and Banisht upon pain of death,
 came upon you also for his Life; who being at his House in
Salem, at the time of your sitting, which he knew, and being
 sensible of the consequence of his being within your Juris-
 diction, after the expiration of his dayes for stay, after his
 Sentence, and of what might prove the Consequence, accord-
 ing to the rate of your cruelty, which had spared no man; as a
 man not afraid of your Law, or his Life, in the noble Spirit of

Truth,

Truth, which gives to overcome and look death in the face, and makes a man not to be afraid what man can do unto him, as a man not shunning, but seeking you; not being terrified by, but giving the opportunity of looking you in the face, and your Valley of Achor, which an † old Priest of yours said of your Gallows, (as aforesaid) wrote to you to signifie, That where- as you had Banisht him on pain of Death, yet was he at Home at his House in Salem, and could not go away; and therefore intimated to you, To take off your wicked Sentence from him, that he might go about his occasions out of your Jurisdiction; according as he laid unto you when you Sentenc'd him, Friends, have a care what you do, for I shall not go from you; which was, when you had W. Ledra before you, when you Sentenc'd him to death, (as hath been said.) So five came upon you, as to death, upon the Tryal of Wenlock Christison, after your barbarous Murdering of W. Ledra, as Wenlock told you as aforesaid, and that if you should have power to put him to death (which he told you, he did question; and as it appears, he was not without ground for his Faith) The Lord would bring ten more upon you; for the Spirit of the Lord can never be wearied out, and you were mistaken to think that by all your cruelties, yea by death it self, you could wear out the Saints of the most high God, who with his Power he armed against you in the naked proof of Truth, and brought upon you, all which gave you occasion to think with your selves, and instead of cutting off any more of the Servants of the Lord, to cut off your own Law with your own hands, and to put death at a greater distance, seeing that the present Execution did not accomplish; and to try what living cruelties could effect, which in a manner (saving that the life remained) was worse then death, which you placed upon the foot of cruelties, Whippings through your Towns out of the Jurisdictions; and so again and again, and then Banishment; and then to be hang'd for incorrigible Rogues, as your said Law mentions.

So see your misf, and learn to beware, lest you hasten the Judgement that hangs over your heads, which will render unto you according to your deeds.

† Thomas Tharcner, Writes to the Court from Salem, to tell them he was there. Who was Banished on pain of death; but was not sent for, though he thus came up on them.

Passages in
Old England
with the King

Concurring for
the saving of
the lives of
Friends, &c.

The King Or-
ders.

A Letter to be
written.

A Copy of the
Letter.

Whilst the Hand of the Lord do wrought with you in New England, by the blood of his Servants, and their offering up themselves to blood, and resisting unto blood, breaking your bloody Law; it will not be amiss to shew how he wrought in Old England, and what influence the blood and sufferings of the Innocent, and your other dealings had with the King, who for some while before was returned to his Regal Jurisdiction in England, whom you seemed to kneel before with your lips, when your hearts were far from him, who by your Agent Liverets, had presented him with an Address looking this way, and by your private Instructions to him, and others, rowing another, as by and by I shall give to understand.

The King being informed of your bloody work, and what cruelty you had exercised, and how you had denied appeals to England, and reading the passages of Daniel Denison your sometimes Major General, mentioned in the former Treatise, page 66. viz. This year you will go to complain to the Parliament, and the next year they will send to see how it is; and the third year the Government is changed; of which he took much notice, and calling to his Lords to hear it, said, Lo, these are my good Subjects of New England; thereupon he asked when any Ship went thither, and said, I will put a stop to them, and grant appeals to England, and for that purpose would send a Letter to them, and gave the Friend that then was with him, (who gave him a Relation of your Cruelties, and the Passage in writing) order to call to his Lord Chancellor, such a time, and he should have the Letter, which was punctually performed in these words.

CHARLES R.

TRufty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that several of Our Subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been, and are Imprisoned by you, whereof some have been Executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergoe the like; We have thought fit to signifie Our pleasure

pleasure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, That if there be any of those People called Quakers amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death, or other corporal punishment, or that are Imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like Condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein, but that you forthwith send the said Persons (whether Condemned, or Imprisoned) over into this Our Kingdom of England, together with the respective Crimes or Offences laid to their Charge, to the end such course may be taken with them here, as shall be agreeable to Our Laws, and their demerits; and for so doing, these Our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge. Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the ninth day of September, 1661. in the thirteenth year of Our Reign.

Subscribed, To Our Trusty and Well-beloved John Endicott Esquire, and to all, and every other the Governor, or Governours of Our Plantation of New England, and of all the Colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be; And to all, and every, the Ministers and Officers of Our said Plantation, and Colonies whatsoever within the Continent of New England.

By His Majesties Command.

William Morris.

So fulfilling the word that passeth in the said page, of the said Treatise, presently after the words aforesaid, Be not deceived, as sure as you have acted all this violence and outrage upon the Innocent, so will the Lord (if man should not, yet man shall do his will; see how it was fulfilled in what follows, and how it was the word of the Lord which he fulfilled) execute his Righteous Judgements upon you, yea, seven fold more, and wish

with grievous indignation will he require it of you; and this the Lord hath spoken, and he will fulfil his Word, and the time is near; and see how near it was, and how soon fulfilled, as what hath been declared makes manifest.

The Letter sent
in a Ship on
purpose, carri-
ed by Samuel
Shartock of
Salem.

† When the
Ship arrived at
Boston, Capt.
Oliver, afore-
mentioned,
went on Board,
and supposing
the Seamen
were most
Quakers, he
came into Bos-
ton, and said,
as is reported,
There is Shat-
rock, and the
Devil and all.

The Quakers
hurl'd out of
Prison.

Col. Temple
posts to Eng-
land, arrives.

Bespeaks the
King with the
obeying his
commands in
putting the
Quakers at li-
berty.

J Norton, Sim-
on Broadstreet.
Hastened after
as : gent's.

The Kings Letter being received, as aforesaid, a † Ship was provided, and Samuel Shartock of Salem, one of the three Banished by you, that came over here, for whose return you longed, that you might be glutted with his blood, went over with it, and a Friend of ours was Master of the Ship, one Ralph Goldsmith, and over your hundred pound fine for any Ship-master that shall bring a Quaker over to your Jurisdiction, came he, as the other did; your Law of death, which appalled you much, and as a Dagger to your heart, began your Judgement, as the Power of the Lord in his Innocent Servants, out-did your Executions, and miserably tormented you were; and something it was for you to see the Quakers come before you with your Judgement, whom you would Condemn with Fine and Death, and give Judgement upon, and your Governour Indictor boyl'd, and fretted with himself; and one while he would order Samuel Shattocks Hat to be taken off, and another while he bad give it to him, like a mad Dog that snaps at this Man, and then at another; and your Plagues were doubled upon you, insomuch as that he that brought this Letter of the Kings, whom you thought to cut off. And that you must account to him, whom you Hypocritically had made your address unto, for the blood and sufferings of them, who had as little love for him as them; and great hurt it made amongst you, and out must the Quakers be put of the Prisons, and your Currier Colonel Temple must post before-hand, and he must bespeak the King, with the having set the Quakers at liberty, and so had obeyed his command, as a present to appease him, whose wrath you feared was kindled against you; and lest things should miscarry, after him your high Priest, John Norton, and Simeon Broadstreet, one of your Magistrates (who were deeply concerned in the blood of the Innocent, and their cruel sufferings, the one as advising, the other as acting) must be sent with an Agency, with as much honour as your Country would allow, to work down things again to your minds

mind and will; that you might not bleed for, but make the *Quakers* to bleed. And O how did your Bowels tumble within you, to think of the issue, & what might be the consequence? And how did they bespeak you here, & with what flattering & courtship, lest your day should come upon you, and you be tormented before your time? And how did they bow to the King and the Archbishop, and what good Subjects did they endeavour to render you to be? And what fear was upon them? At least Simon Broadstreet, lest the murder of our Friends by you, and them, should be required at their hands? And how did they seek to run into holes as to that? And how wary was Simon Broadstreet, lest he should be intrapped in his discourse, as he accounted it? And Witnesses he would needs have, to hear what was spoken, when he was friendly discoursed about their blood; whose blood he had answered for here; but that we leave things to him that judgeth righteously, who will require in due season. And how was John Norton afraid to own, yea, how did he deny his having to do in their blood, and the other Cruelties of the Innocent, as not being present at any of those transactions, or having advised them; till a person whose Ear you cut, convicted him of the contrary; of whom, and his judgement, and his having more particularly to do in the blood of all our Friends, whom ye murdered, and his being the Incourager thereunto, I shall speak more anon: O the pants and groans, anguish and trouble that was upon you then, and what might be the consequence! Your Hearts were full of blood, your Consciences full of guilt, your hands full of cruelty, your Resolutions full of mischief: But O ye Serpents! how did you lurk, and twine it in the ground, to hide it, to cover your heads, to save a Brush? Oh the day of Judgement was a terrible day! Oh the thoughts of the Bishops made you shake; who dar'd to wash your hands in the blood of those who dar'd to look you in the face: Oh if the King would but now be your Friend, and let you go, and pass by all that you had done, what good Subjects would you be! how prostrate would you lie! If you might be but admitted into the number of his loyal Subjects who kneel at his feet: Oh the sence of a Reckoning, how hard it was! Oh to suffer, what an uncouth thing it was! You had

The King and Archbishop courted.

They are afraid of their lives, for pursuing the Quakers to death.

And seek to hide themselves with the Quakers.

+ John Copeland.

N. England's
pannick fears
during these
things.

The King con-
firms the Pat-
ent, but mays
the Govern-
ment.

By his Decla-
ration.

- p. 101

† The conflict
of N. England
with the fruits
of the Agency.

forgotten *Bowels* and *compassion*, and you had *tore* all *tender-
ness*, and *snapt* it *afunder*; and *now* suffering for *your* *deme-
rita* was like to be *your* *case*; and you that thought you could
hang the *World*, and murder all that came in amongst you,
that were contrary unto you, now crouch under the thought
that you must come to it *your* selves: O how comes the scene
to be changed? And O how like men metamorphosed from
the *highest* Murderers, into the *most* *fearful* Cowards, do you
appear? Oh what thousands of thoughts that *this* day was
over; that the King would but forgive you, and confirm your
Patent, and let you but live and reign to suck the *Blood* of the
Innocent. But alas, what fruit did your Agents bring forth?
What welcome news brought they to you at their arrival? what
blessed advantage was the consequence, as to you? The King
confirm'd the Patent, for He thought it not reasonable, nor
would His Clemency admit it, that the Country, who for the
most part had not sinned your transgressions, should forfeit or
suffer for your faults; and therefore He confirms the Patent to
the Country: As for you, He had another way to deal with you,
He declared Liberty of Conscience to those in the Colony, to
whom you had denied it, and made them to suffer, and so did
that to the Country which was the end of the Plantation, which
you pretended to in going thither, but having got into the seat
would give it none: And He gave liberty of Election of Ma-
gistrates, both as to the Electors and the Elected, where you re-
strained, which was just; that no more might the Govern-
ment run into a Faction, and a heap of Cruelty: And He al-
lowed more Magistrates than your Number, in case there were
occasion, that the administration of Justice might be with the
more equality, and with less rigor and partiality; and that the
Vicer of Religion might not be put over the Sacrifices of Blood;
and that Memberships of Churches might not be in the admini-
stration of State, but that those things might be put in their
proper Channel, and stand, as they should do, without parti-
ality. And as for the Quakers, He pleased you with a knock as
to them, whom He delivered into your hands to punish, whilst
He held the Countrey free.

But how did you like this? and how did these His Acts
please

please you? what comfort added all this to you? and how were your Joyes increased? did you triumph at their return? or did you with gladness of heart cause His Declaration to be read? how liked you John Nortons Cushion that he brought from the Arch-Bishop, as was said? Oh, how paleness grew upon you! how wan your looks! how thin your Cheeks! your Hearts grew sad, you sighed: Oh, this John Norton, said some, *haib brought us into bondage*. What liberty for this thing and that, Magistrates to be chosen others then our selves, and others Elect *them* that are not of us; more Magistrates, this, in time, will unbind us; Our bloody Yoaks will be taken off, our Pomp will down, our Faction will cease, we shall come into contempt; Our Ecclesiastical Policy wrapt in Civil Government, and our Civil Government in Ecclesiastical Policy; Our setting up our selves will now down; No more (as this takes place) of setting our selves over Soul and Body at once, the Conscience and lives of men; we must come to indifference, we must come to nothing in comparison of what we were; we shall be loosened among our selves, untwisted, the Countrey will come in upon us, we have disoblighd them, in narrowing all to our Compass, in paling Religion to our scantling; they are more then we, their Votes are more then ours, they will choose, and be chosen; farewell our day if this succeed. Oh John Norton and Simon Broadstreet, What have ye brought over? We shall be pickt out at last, we shall be sent for over to England one after another, we shall be unravelled, we shall be brought to nothing; we shall be ruined and undone if this takes place; we must think of somewhat else; as good hold it out at this distance, we can but be destroyed at last; perhaps things may change and rowl in England again, as they have rowled before; they may have troubles and engagements that may find them other work. Commissioners, We of Boston, of the Colony of the Massachusetts, will not receive you, you that came to, and have reduced the *Manados*, we will not be reduced, your Commission shall not take place here; your Commission was made under an Hedge, and Sealed with yellow Wax, we'll not credit you, at least we will not seem so to do, however you may think; you are come to burn our Town, what do we know

They rebel as
Boston.
Kings Com-
missioners a-
bused.

* This old *Hathorn* is said upon a raining day to have endeavoured to insinuate with the Soldiers, that the Kings Commissioners were pretended Commissioners, that their Commission was made under a Hedge, and Sealed with yellow wax, and that they were unmannerly, and would not put off their Hats to the Authority of the Countrey, (so he calls your Court:) but others think the Authority of the Countrey is the King, and that your Court according to such manners and customs, in those that observe them, should rather stand bare to his Commissioners, and that a Soldier should reply, You have a Law to whip the Quakers for such things, why do ye not the same to them? Then that he made a Speech to the Company, and said, You that are for the Kings Commissioners stand, and you that are for the Countrey follow me, (a fine Traitor, and a notorious and bloody Persecutor, see how they joyn together) and that thereupon six or eight drew forth to him, & that the rest stood, and that he seeing this, should say again, Follow Soldiers, did you hear what I said? and that they should reply, Yes; and that he endeavoured to draw them forth again as before, and that his wrath was kindled thereupon, and that he should say, and say to them that stood, That they deserved to be made bond-slaves of. And after this the Company calld him, & chose *Walter Price* for their Captain, & that you the Court of Boston put him in again, and that the Company would not receive him; and that after this, that he might have some play, he was made Captain of the Artillery at Salem. Here is old *Hathorn* and his Picture, and yours, and what fine Subjects you are it appears, and how according to the Laws of men, ye deserve to have the third Tree put to those two large ones you sent to the King for a present to appease him, for your not sending this Rebel, and his followers, their Governor *Bellingham*, and others over here to answer what I all be laid to their charge, when he sent for them, and a Gallies made of them for him, and you to be hanged thereon.

what you will do unto us; You that are for the Commissioners, stand where you are; you that are for your Countrey, draw forth to me, cries your Commander *Hathorn*, to your men in Arms. Walk up and down with your hands in your Pockets, Commissioners in; If you will proclaim in the Kings Name, we will in the Countries; Say the Common-prayer, and the Sacraments shall have liberty, and the Quakers, and we will whip the Quakers, and you upon their backs; stand as Cyphers if ye will, we will hold it as we can; Our new Governor *Billingham* is an old man, and it is the Winter season, and the Countrey cannot spare him, nor do we think fit to send old *Hathorn*, nor the rest pretended to be sent for to England. King Charles, we cannot believe the Order was thine, thy hand not being to it, and it being so unlike to thy Fathers and Grandfathers, who confirmed our Patent, or we will not believe it; in plain English, we will rebel; we have rebelled, reduce us as thou canst; we hope to escape the pluck with thee; thou hast many Irons in the fire, and we trust thou mayest be employed otherways then to infest us; we meant our selves prostrate, and to have lain at thy feet, and to have kneeled amongst the number of thy loyal Subjects, if thou wouldst have admitted our Dominion, and have kept all under us, and to kneel at our Feet, that

that we might have been *Lords*, and to have ruled as we pleased; On *this* would have liked us, but what doth all avail us whilst things are otherwise? whilst we must be bowed down and brought under, be subjected to punishment; we thought no such thing, nor meant it, when we made our seeming humble address to *Thee*; but seeing it is otherwayes, and that the matter thus turns upon us, we will make an adventure, and instead of suffering as the *Quakers* do, and being quiet, we will quit our selves as we can from sufferings, and we will Rule as we are able, 'Call it what thou wilt, and do what thou canst, we are at a point, we are determined.

So speak your Actions, and the things that you have done, and the sence your Actions give of what hath been done, and so have you said as aforesaid, which I have drawn before you, in that which knows your heart, and will render unto you according to your deeds; and put together, because indeed they are but one thing proceeding from one root, to wit, your Rebellion and falseheartedness to the King; and your serving of your selves, when you pretended that him you would serve, as *Wenlock Christison* told you, (viz:) If the King knew your hearts as God knows them, he should see them as rotten towards him, as they were to God, as aforesaid. And now you have manifested it, and shewed who are the *Rebels*, the *Quakers* or you; who are they that are consistent with Government, either they who patiently suffer what is inflicted on them, or those that will indure nothing on them to be inflicted, but are in their own will, and will suffer nothing to be but themselves; who kill the *Quakers* for coming into your Jurisdiction, and will not suffer the *Kings Commissioners* to exercise his Authority in your Jurisdiction; so King and Quaker you put in the same equipage, that is as to denying; and when you can you will as to something else: Appeals you deny to England, in case of life, and other sufferings, where your Laws are repugnant to the Laws of England, which voids your Charter; and the *Kings Commissioners* you deny, who come with Authority from the King, though the issue be the hazard of your lives; *Quakers* you deny to abide in your Jurisdiction.

The *Kings Commissioners* may abide, but without subjection

on by *you* to the *Kings* Authority in *your* Jurisdiction; as much love *you* have to the *King* as *them*, and when *you* can, *you* will, and as *you* have opportunity *you* shew it. See the things are brought near together, the *King* and the *Quakers* have the *same* respect from *you*; the *truth* of it is, *you* would have none live but *your* selves, who square not with *you*; and the issue will prove that *any* may live but *you*, the hand of the *Lord* is against *you*, and *his* Judgments will take hold of *you*, and *you* go the way of it, and *your* own hands are bringing *your* work on *your* selves, and blood will be given *you*, for *you* are worthy.

Thus have *I* given an account of what the hand of the *Lord* hath brought to pass here by the *King*, as *his* Arm had wrought with *you*, to give a little breathing to *his* Innocent Servants, who bare Testimony to *his* Name, who loved not *their* lives unto the death, for whom *he* hath provided a Crown of Life; who have been faithful unto *his* Name, and through great tribulations have entered into the Kingdom of God, for whom *he* hath provided a dwelling place, & a City which never shall have end; whose portion is with the *Lord*, and who is the *los* of *their* Inheritance, though *you* have cast *them* out of *your* Jurisdiction, and suffered some of *them* not to live amongst men.

I shall now proceed to the consequence of *your* wills, which notwithstanding what hath been here related, *you* have exercised at *your* pleasures, to the sore sufferings of the Innocent; therefore attend unto *your* charge, and hear what *I* have further to say unto *you*, in reference to the cruelties *you* have exercised with a hard heart, and cruel hand, on the People of the *Lord*, which are as follows.

Geo. Wilson
Imprisoned.

Denounces
Judgments on
N England in
the Streets as
he went.
The Alarm it
gave.

A little before the sitting of *your* Court aforesaid, *George* *Wilson* being within *your* Town of *Boston*, (who afterwards in cruel Irons, which rotted *his* flesh, and long Imprisonment, departed *this* life in *Virginia*, for *his* Testimony to the *Lord*) *ye* laid hold on; and because, as *he* was brought to *your* Prison, *he* cried in the Street, as *he* was passing along, *That the Lord was coming with Fire and Sword to plead with Boston*; and about that time the General meeting at *Rhode Island*, about sixty miles from *Boston*, was set up, *you* made an Alarm that the *Quakers* were gathering together to kill the People, and to fire the Town

of Boston, who spake of the Judgments of the Lord that were coming upon you, (that is to say) George Wilson, and who on- ly drew to Rhoad Island to wait upon the Lord, and to see the faces of one another, to wit, the People called Quakers; yet see how your guilt pursued you, and as the Scripture saith, *The wicked flees when none pursues him*; and Watch and Ward you set upon the Passages by Sea and Land into your Town, as if the poor people, whose blood you had drawn and pursued, and who had greatly suffered, sought your blood, which they left to the Lord, to wit, their Sufferings, and committed unto him. Thus like Cain, after he had slain his Brother Abel, thought that every one that met him would kill him; so you having slain your Innocent Brethren, thought that every one would kill you, which was but a demonstration that you were of Cain your Father, and that the like guilt pursued you as did him; the issue will prove it, that not the People called Quakers, but your own wickedness, because of what you have done to those people, will be your ruine; so the Innocent through the blood of your Towns you drove (as a Butcher doth a flock of Sheep) into the howling Wilderness.

And old Nicholas Upshal, of whom I have made mention in the former Treatise, and your cruelty on him, who was an ancient man, having not teeth to eat his Food, being scraped into a Spoon, and so eaten by him by reason thereof, you Sentenced to Imprisonment in the Castle, or his Brothers house in Dorchester, who having been five years Banished by you, and two years Imprisoned; hath since lain down the Body in a good old Age, and full of Truth, and his Testimony thereunto, which he finished with a Crown upon his Head of Glory and Renown, which shall last for ever; and this shall be a Memorial for him, from Generation to Generation, and a Record of your cruelty which you exercised upon him for his faithfulness unto the Lord, which remains with him; Thus as to them. I shall now come to speak of your Cart and Whip Acts, and what followed thereupon (your new Law, as aforesaid) to the Servants of the Lord.

Not long after that our Friends were driven by you into the Wilderness, in the exceeding hot weather, John Smith of Sa- lem, and his Wife.

Nich. Upshal dies.

John Smith

lem,

him and his Wife (who had long been kept in Prison by you) determined in the Lord to return to their little ones again, from whom they had been kept nigh two years, notwithstanding your Sentence to the contrary; she falling sick, having often fainted in the way, as she was by you sorely driven; who going through Boston, the young Woman leading on a Staff, being very sick and weak, your Deputy Governour Billingham met with them, who was so far from pitty or remorse, or having compassion towards her, that he committed them both to Prison again.

Committed again.

Jo. Chamberlain.

Not long after returned John Chamberlain of Boston, who was an Inhabitant thereof, being convinced at the Tree, when you hung and slew Will. Robinson, and Marmaduke Stevenson thereon, as hath been declared in the former Treatise, and who cruelly suffered at your hands, after he was so Convict;

Geo. Wilson return.

They are Imprisoned, and whipt cruelly.

G. W. pulled down by his collar, when on his knees, after execution by the hangman.

I say not long after the return of the former, returned John Chamberlain and George Wilson to Boston, of whom they soon took hold, and Sentenced according to your new Law, to be fast tyed to a Cart rayl, and Whipt through three Towns into the Wilderness, which your Executioner most cruelly performing at Boston, George Wilson being loosed, fell on his knees at the Cart rayl and prayed, which he perceiving, took hold of George by the Collar, and pulled him down, (this is your Religion, and this your Devotion to hinder a man when on his knees at Prayer, after such cruel whipping) then through the two Towns your Executioner had them, and whipt them as in the former, saying that at the last he had got such a cruel Instrument, that he miserably tore their flesh therewith, which they would have bought for the novelty of the cruelty, that for the sight of it, into old England, it might have been sent; but he would not, but drove them into the Wilderness; This John Chamberlain was of your Town of Boston, a Housekeeper and Tradesman, who was convicted at the Tree when you Barbarously shed the blood, and murdered the two first as aforesaid, who though one of your own Town you so used with that Barbarism as aforesaid; and by the ninth of the seventh month, 1661. had been nine times thus dealt withall by you, viz. three times through three Towns, most cruelly tortured after this

Jo. Chamberlain nine times whipt by the

9th. 7th. m. 1661.

this manner of *your* cruelty, whom *all* that *you* could do, was so far from beating *him* from the *Truth*, that it drove *him* the nearer to it, *viz.* to feel and abide by that, to which *he* was turned, to turn *him* from, of because of which *you* so abused *him*, which carried *him* through with cheerfulness, all that from *you* *he* thus cruelly received, which is everlasting, which to *him* is a name and memorial which shall never rot.

Now before I proceed further, I must give *you* to understand how *you* used *Josiah Southick*, whose *Father* and *Mother*, *Laurence* and *Cassandra*, *you* had Banished the first; who died in a few dayes one of another in their Banishment, being *Ancient* People, and sometimes of *your* own Profession, and whose Sister *Provided*, *you* ordered to be sold, and his Brother *Daniel*, for *Bond-slaves*, for the paying of their *Fines*. So Oppressing a man and his house, even a man and his *Heritage*, as the first Part of the Relation of the suffering of our Friends by *you* hath it more at large. This *Josiah* *you* having also Sentenced into Banishment upon pain of death, in the third month, 1659. found it with *him*, as also did *Samuel Shattock* and *Nicholas Phelps*, who were in the same Condemnation to go for *England*, and there to lay the cruelties *you* were exercising, and the way of death for the Innocent that *you* were in, before the then *Parliament*, and their Council of State, that being not ignorant of *your* work, on their score it might lie if they restrained *you* not; who being on the *Verticle* Point, and their day of calamity drawing near, partly because their ears were not open, as they should have been, for the helping of them, who had no helper, and relieving the Innocent, their day went over them, as it was † wrote unto them in the Name of the Lord, that it should, if they did so, in this very case of their suffering by *you*, and they had an end; so he stayed with the other two sometime after the Kings return, and when a convenient opportunity presented, he and *Nicholas Phelps* (a little after) returned, on the edge of *your* Law, on pain of death, who being found by *you* at *Boston*, for *Nicholas* (whose cruel sufferings by *you*, the former Book makes mention) being weak in Body, and ill in Old *England* before his return, which went not off from *him* there, living at his House,

Josiah Southick, being Banished on pain of death in O. Ps. days. Went over with S. S. and N. P. to old *England*.

Broadstreet called this *Prosecution* not *Persecution*, when the said *Daniel* told him of his violence in that particular.

† See the Book Intituled, *The warnings of the Kings of the men of his Generation, &c.* pag. 32. And returns.

Comes to Boston, is Imprisoned.

And brought before the Court of Assistance, 7th. month, 1661.

His Tryal. Passages as to his Hat.

five miles from Salem, in the Woods, after some time dyed,)
I say, Josias being found by you at Boston, where he manfully appeared in the face of your Law for death, you soon clapt him into Prison, and there continued him in the house of Correction for about the space of nine weeks: then your Court of Assistance being come, which was in the seventh month, 1661. you had him out before you, at which, according to your former Law, he should have been tryed for his life.

Being brought before you, the great occasion you took against him, was his Hat, which with you is a fault deserving death, a thing of as much ridiculousness as cruelty, that a man must die for having his Hat on; (*Must such Jacks as you, said your Priest Wilton to Will. Robinson, when he was leading to Execution, come before the Magistrates with their Hats on? Mind you, mind you People, it is for my Hat I must die, said W. Robinson.*) Hereupon you commanded him to pull it off; he told your Governour, *He could not.* You said, *He would not.* He told you, *It was a cross to his will to keep it on, and that what he had done on that account, was out of tenderness of Conscience, and that he could not do it for Conscience-sake.* At this you wondered, that he said it was a cross to his will, which one would think you might easily understand, seeing that his life lay at stake for it, and no man in his wits, (as we use to say) you might well have judged, would, if a greater thing did not constrain him to the contrary, hazard his life for want of putting off his Hat; for the keeping on of the Hat, you make the discrimination of a Quaker, and a Quaker coming into your Jurisdiction, or being of your selves so and so, suffering the first, second, and third time, &c. must die for it, and so you put several to death; this is no forcing upon you, but what your Law in broad letters speaks; for of Principle or Practice, contrary to Godliness, you have not convicted them, but of being Quakers, which that they are such, the Hat (you say) discovers, and so you take away their lives.

Well, much reasoning he had with you thereabouts, a most ridiculous thing, that wise, or men of understanding should stumble at, seeing its part of a mans covering, as other Garments are, which to put off when one meets a man, or comes into

into a Court of *Judicature*; would be counted a demonstration of *frensie* or *madness*; yet *you* must have the *Hat*, and that for *your* honour, which a man may choose, and it is in *his* pleasure whether *he* will give it or no, not knowing the *honour* which cometh from *God*, which reacheth the heart, who believe not; for *how can ye believe*, said the Son of *God*, who *John 5. 44.* receive honour from one another, and not that which cometh from *God* only; I say, much reasoning *he* had with *you* thereabouts, and *your* unjust dealings, and unreasonable with *him*, *he* laid open, which *you* could not gain-say; but *your* Governour told *him*, That *he* was to have been tryed for *his* life, but that *you* had made *your* late Law to save *his* life, (save *your* own, for mercy to *him* *you* had none) which *you* said was mercy to *him*, (the same as the *Wolf* had to the *Sheep*, where *he* can not, or thinks it not safe to bite *him*.) Then *he* asked *you*, Whether *you* were not as good to take *his* life now, as to whip *him* after *your* manner twelve or fourteen times at a Cart's tayl through *your* Towns, and then put *him* to death afterwards? as was the consequence of *your* Law, which mar'd the clamour of *your* lenity, which *you* sought to salve with a *flour*, viz. That it might be, that an Order by that time might come to save *his* life.

He is Sentenced to be whipt

So *your* Governour signified *his* Sentence, which according to the Order was as followeth, and which I the rather infer, because it is the usual form of *your* cruel Executions of Whippings, so much spoken of in this Treatise.

To the Constables of Boston.

YOU are, by vertue of an Order of the Court of *The Copy of*
Assistance, held at Boston the third Instant, re-*the Warrant.*
quired to repair with the Executioner unto the Prison, and
there, forthwith, take the Person of Josiah Southick, a
Banish'd Quaker, and the Executioner is to take *him*,
and to strip *him* from the Girdle upward, and to tie *him*
to a Cart tayl, and whip *him* ten stripes out of Boston.

and deliver him to the Constable of Rocksbury, who is also to cause him to be tyed to the Carts tayl, stript, as aforesaid, and to whip him through Roksbury, with ten stripes, as aforesaid, and then deliver him to the Constable of Denham, who is also required to whip him at the Carts tayl with ten stripes, as aforesaid, and so discharge him out of Our Jurisdiction: Make your several returns on the back-side of the Warrant to the Secretary, forthwith. Dated at Boston, the 9th. of September, 1661.

By the Court.

Edward Rawson Secretary.

Which your Sentence being given, he with arms stretched out, and hands spread before you, said, *Here is my Body, if you want a farther testimony of the Truth I profess, take it, and tear it to pieces,* (a noble Spirit that out-look't your cruelty, which is the nature of Truth, and the nobility of the Spirit thereof in those whom it leads) *it is freely given up, and for your Sentence, I matter it not.* And truly he was able to, and did say in the presence of God, *That it was no more terrifying unto him, then if ye had taken a Feather and blown up in the Air, and had said, Take heed it hurteth him not; And surely tongue cannot exprest, said he, nor declare the goodness and love of God to his suffering People.*

*His Speech
thereupon.*
† The Whip
used for these
cruel Executi-
ons, is not of
Whip-cord, as
in England,
but of dried
Guts, such as
are used for
the Base of
Vials, & with
3 knots at the
end, which ma-
ny times the
Hangman lays
on with both
his hands, and
must needs be
of most violent
torment and ex-
ercise to the
Body,

So you caused him to be tyed at the Carts tayl in Boston, where your Hangman laid him on with what † vehemency he could; but his Spirit was so born up, that by the Power of the Almighty, and the Springs of Life which were so opened in him, that with a loud shout, he could not but sing to his praise in the thickest of the People, as he was at the Carts tayl led through the Streets. They that know God to be their strength, cannot fear what man can do, saith *Josiah Southwick* Sufferer.

And through two Towns more your Executioner cruelly whipt.

whipt him also according to *your* Order, the last being the Town of *Dedham*, which in the *next* morning he performed, it being *very* cold, for the *first* day he could not reach through all *his* work, and from thence having brought him *fifteen* miles from *any* Town, into the Wilderness, and *twenty six* miles from *Boston*, he discharged him, who in a little time after returned, with *two* Friends that accompanied him, being upheld by the Spirit of the Lord, which was with him, and lifted him up above you, and all the heads of his Adversaries. And in *seven* or *eight* miles space was before the Constable, though he had Horses, who was offended to see him; but he travelled all night, and by Sun-rising, he and his Friends came to his home, having onely *one* Horse between them, he having travelled *thirty* miles that night, and about *sixty* miles in *twenty four* hours, notwithstanding his back was plow'd with stripes, as aforesaid, and his flesh torn and beat, in which the Lord helped him.

So much for the Sufferings of *Josiah Southeick*, and those other of our Friends of Truth in *Boston*, and the Adjacent parts thereto in *your* Jurisdiction. I shall now turn me a little farther off to a place called *Dover*, about *twenty* years since taken into *your* Colony, in which never any of our Friends had been, whose entertainment there, and what they received at the hands of those of *your* own Spirit, I shall something now in order relate, which may serve at present for a little diversion from the horrid cruelties with which you had glutted the Town of *Boston*.

But before I yet pass from *Boston*, the Seat of blood, I must give the Reader a little to understand how you dealt with *John Chamberlaine*, in point of his then Wife, who was not altogether of the same Judgement as himself, whom you endeavoured to separate from him, and to beget a wrong understanding between him and her, and some other things about the same, relating to certain then in Prison, but not of us; Yet having some relation to what I have in hand, not mentioned in the former Treatise: This *John Chamberlaine* convinced at the Tree, when you murdered *W. Robinson*, and *M. Stevenson*, (as aforesaid) being a House-holder in *your* Town of *Boston*, whom

Dover.

More Sufferings at Boston
Jo. Chamberlaine's Wife endeavoured to be alienated from her affections to her husband.
By R. Bellingham, Deputy Governour, whilst he was in Prison.

With Suggestions that J. C. would murder her, &c. And inciting her to disown her Husband.

A young Thief in Prison likely to be convinced.

whom *you* followed with *cruel* Sufferings; if so be, that by such things *you* might have turned *him* again, or wearied *him* out of *your* Jurisdiction; which being not able to effect, for the Power of the *Lord* was near, and helped *him*, who suffered for *his* Name, *you* went another way to work; and *your* Deputy Governour *Billingham*, knowing that *his* Wife was not of the *same* principle altogether with *himself*, he went about to draw *her* to deny and disown *her* Husband, (this was, when *she* and *her* tender Children suffered so much by *his* long Imprisonment; and this was the time the Tempter took to work upon *her*) telling *her*, or endeavouring to make *her* believe, that when *he* came home again, *he* would murder *her* in *her* Bed, or some other-where; and to persuade and draw *her* the surer in the thing, *he* told *her*, *she* should not want, and that *she* might live with another Husband; but being not able to prevail with *all* his Art on the poor Woman, who held *her* true affection to *her* Husband, and told *him* of these things, *your* Court (such was *her* extremity, and being with Child, and having other Children, and *their* Father kept from *them*) could not but order that *he* should have liberty to work in the Prison at *his* Calling, which was a *Carrier*; whereupon *he* had his necessaries to Prison, and with the help of *W. Ledra*, and other Friends who were then *his* fellow Prisoners, who in love assisted *him*, *he* rid off *his* work apace, and *his* Customers brought much work unto *him*, which *your* Savage *Jayler* after perceiving, *he* vexed, and fretted much, and said; That *he* got more in Prison, than *he* would have done if *he* had been at liberty. It so fell out, that during this time, a young man was brought into Prison for Theft, whom those, called *Quakers*, in the Prison endeavoured to convince of *his* evil wayes; and *he* being willing to hear *them*, report went abroad as if *he* were turned a *Quaker*; whereupon the *Mother* of the *Lad* dwelling about *Scituate*, hasted thither, and not liking *her* Sons carriage to *her*, (its like, not putting off *his* Hat) *she* struck *him*, and by and by went to pray for *him*, (so smiting and praying, as it were in one breath; this was one of *your* professing Women, who dwelt in *Cains* Nature) and to the Governour *she* went, and made *her* complaint, that *her* Son

Son was like to be a *Quaker*, and so to be undone, (see what reckoning is made of that which seeks to convince people of the evil of *their* wayes, as that which will undoe *them*) Your Governour sends for him, and demands of him, Whether the *Quakers* did show him any of *their* Books? Which he confessing, your Governour, rather then the Thief should turn an honest man, and lest indeed he should, and which he was turning to be, notwithstanding his Theft, set him at liberty; and here is a way for a Thief to get his liberty, viz. to turn honest, or to that which would make him so, which that he may not be made so, you turn him out, or set him at liberty.

Turn'd out of Prison, lest he should be convinced.

Your Jaylor *Salter* hearing this, to Prison gets he, and charges *John Chamberlaine* with this great Crime, of endeavouring to draw the man from the evil of his wayes, and shewing him Books for that purpose; *John* said, Thou shouldst not lie. Then he turned to *Edward Wharton*, and charged him with it; I did, replied *Edward*. Then you shall up for it, said your Jaylor. Truly (said *W. Ledra*) if I had Books, I should give them to the People. Wouldst thou? (said *Salter*) Then thou shalt up too. And I should do so too, said another. Then thou shalt up too, (said *Salter*) So up he lockt all of them in a very little room to keep them from their Friends, who were willing to reclaim the Offender, when as the Offender was set at liberty that he might not be reclaimed.

It also fell out, that this *Salter* had another Thief in his custody, who finding his Chamber door open one night, and the bunch of Keys of the Prison hanging at the door, (which *Salter* being drunk and mad with Friends, and locking them up in a narrow Room, because they had spoke to him what was convenient) took his opportunity, and made his escape. *Salter* in the morning coming to the Thieves Chamber door, and finding it open, called to the Thief, *George*, *George*, for that was his name, but no answer was; so *Salter* made up the matter as well as he could, with him that put in the Thief, telling him, That the *Quakers* had let him out. Which *John Chamberlaine* hearing, said to *Salter* in the Common Jayl, *William*, If we do make known thy lying, thank thy

Another Thief.
got out of Prison.

The *Jaylers*
ac. count of
suffering
Friends to
work, viz.
It will over-
throw Justice.

thy self. Whereupon *Salter* in a rage lockt the outer door, and looking in at a Window, said, Now *John* do thy worst. And so denyed his Customers to come to him to bring him work; and when they demanded of him, Why they should not be suffered to bring their Leather to him? the *Jayler* said, It will overthrow Justice, Which his justice was, because he would have fathered the escape of this Thief on Friends who were Innocent; so to make up the matter with him that put the Thief in, which *John* hearing, cleared Friends of, as aforesaid. And though the Court had done *John* so much Justice as to let him have work, though they unjustly put him, and detained him in Prison; yet this the *Jayler* will deny, to avenge his own quarrel, because *John* had said right; and so set himself over the Court also, becoming Magistrate, and Court, and Executioner, because *John* had done Justice; so with his Ax he came, and hewed down *Johns* Beam, by reason of which he could not work in the Prison.

A she Thief
in Prison.
Being brought
so some sence
of her wicked-
ness.

Once more and I shall have done with this Jayl and *Jayler* at this present, and pass somewhere else. Moreover it fell out, that *Salter* had a young Woman, a she Thief in the Prison, who coming among Women Friends in the Prison, was brought to some sence of her evil work, and under Condemnation; which the *Jayler* hearing of, took her into his House, where came other people, and told her, She were Perswaded by the *Jayler*, and others, to be a better, he as she was before (a Thief) then a Quaker. The Woman being thus instructed, got over that which had condemned her, and having an opportunity, went to her old work again, and stole pretty much Linnen out of *Davis* the Apothecaries Garden, and hid them under her Bed-cloaths; which being found out, and the shame of their Counsel returning upon them, she was sent to Virginia. This is a Member of your Church, and your *Jayler*; and this is the reckoning that is made of Thievery, and that which judgeth it; and this is, as of old, preferring *Barrabas* before *Jesus*.

Sufferings at
Dover.
1662.
Piscot. River.

In the year 1662. *Mary Tomkins*, and *Alice Ambros*, who came from Old England with *George Prestan*, and *Edward Wharton* of *Salem* aforesaid, came to *Piscotagua River*, and passing up, landed at the Town aforesaid; whither to go, it was with them

them from the Lord, where they had a good opportunity in the Inn where they were, with the People that resorted to them; who reasoned with them concerning their Faith and Hope, which to the people being made manifest, some to the Truth thereof confessed; and others being not able to gainsay the Truth, ran to Rayner their Priest, and told him, That such a People were come to Town, and that they had much discourse with them about their Religion, and were not able to contradict what they said, and therefore desired him to come forth, and help them, Or else, said they, we are like to be run on ground.

Priest Rayner

At this the Priest chafed and fretted, and asked his People, Why they came amongst them? To which they answered, Sir, it is so, We have been amongst them, and if you come not forth to help us, we are on ground. And said the Priests Wife, Which do you like best, my Husband, or the Quakers? Said one of them, We shall tell you that after your Husband have been with them.

Whereupon in came Rayner in a fretting and froward manner, saying, What came ye here for, seeing the Laws of the Countrey are against such as you are? But what hast thou against us? replied Mary Tomkins. You deny Magistrates, (said the Priest) and Ministers, and the Churches of Christ. Thou sayest so, (replied Mary) And you deny the three Persons in the Trinity, (said the Priest.) To which Mary answered, Take notice people, this man falsely accuseth us, for Godly Magistrates, and the Ministers of Christ, we own, and the Churches of Christ we own; and that there are Three that bear Record in Heaven, which Three, are the Father, Word, and Spirit, that we own; But for the Three Persons in the Trinity, that's for thee to prove.

And they dispute.

I will prove three Persons in the Trinity, (said the Priest.) Thou sayest so, said George Preston, but prove it by the Scripture. Yes, replied Rayner, by this I will prove it, where it is said, And he is the express Image of his Fathers Person. But said one, That is falsely Translated. Yea, it is, replied a learned man, for in the Greek, it is not Person but Substance. But said the Priest, It is Person, and so there is one Person. Thou sayest so, (said George) but prove thy other two if thou canst.

H

Said

*Priest Rayne's
three some-
things of the
Trinity.*

*The Hireling
flees.*

*And many are
convinced.*

*Province of
Mayn.
Major Shap-
leigh.
† Tho. Millet
Priest.*

*He and his
Wife are con-
vinced; the
Priest Tho.
Millet turned
out of doors, &
his Worship.*

*The aforesaid
depart west-
ward, and
M. Tomkins.
A. Ambrose.
An. Coleman,
return to Pis-
cataqua Ri-
ver again.
They are ap-
prehended.*

Said the Priest, There are *Three somethings*; and so in a *Rage* flung away, calling to his People at the window to go from amongst them; but Mary soon got after him, and spake to him to come back, and not to leave his people amongst them he called Wolves; but away pack't the Priest, whereupon she said unto the people, *Is not this the Hireling that flees and leaves the Flock?* So Truth came over them all, and there was great service for the Lord, and many were convinced of the Truth that day: And notwithstanding the terror of your wicked Laws, many waxed bold, and invited them to their Houses, and they had at that time a great and good Meeting amongst them, and the Truth by George Preston, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambros, was preached amongst them, and the Power of the Lord reached many of them that day.

Having had this good Service at this time at Dover for the Lord, they passed away into the Province of Mayn, being invited to Major Shapleighs, who was the Magistrate for that part of the Countrey, who kept † a Priest in his House, and allowed him and the people a Room in his House to do their Worship; and he being an inquiring man after Truth desired the Priest, that he and the Quakers might have some Dispute together, unto which the Priest seemed willing; but soon after that Truth and the Priest had a Bittell, he got away, by which his deceit was manifest; and the said Major Shapleigh and his Wife were convinced of the Truth, and in a good measure of obedience gave up to it, and turned the Priest and his Worship away; and whereas his House had formerly served the Priest, now both he and his House served for the Lord to be Worshiped in; and great Dominion got the Truth in this day, in the hearts of People thereawayes, which tormented many of the Priests and Rulers; so after they had staid in those parts for some time, wherein they had very good service for the Truth, they departed Westward, and towards the Winter it came into the hearts of Alice Ambrose, and Mary Tomkins, an Ann Coleman to go and visit the Seed of God amongst them, that had received the Truth in Piscataqua River, where they were not long, but a flood of Persecution arose, by the intigation of the Priest, who caused them to be apprehended, by
virtue

vertue of your Cart Law ; an order was made to Whip, and
 paſſe them away, as followeth. Sentenced to
be whipt.

To the Conſtables of Dover, Hampton, Sa-
 liſbury, Newberry, Rowley, Ipſwich, Wen-
 nam, Linn, Boſton, Roxbury, Dedham;
 and until theſe Vagabond Quakers are carri-
 ed out of this Jurisdiction.

Copy of the
Warrant.

YOU, and every of you, are required in the Kings
 Majeſties Name, (and yet his Authority you will
 not obey, but make his Name to ſerve your pleaſure,
 and cover your cruelty) to take theſe Vagabond Qua-
 kers, Ann Coleman, Mary Tomkins, Alice Ambroſe,
 and make them faſt to the Carts Tayl, and driving the
 Cart through your ſeveral Towns to Whip them upon
 their naked Backs, not exceeding ten ſtripes apiece on
 each of them, in each Town, and ſo to convey them
 from Conſtable to Conſtable, till they come out of this
 Jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your Peril, and
 this ſhall be your Warrant.

At Dover, dated

Per me Richard Walden.

Decemb. 22. 1662.

A moſt cruel Warrant, and as ſtrangely pen'd, through ele-
 ven Townſhips by name, and whatſoever elſe were in that
 Jurisdiction, to whip three tender Women, and one of them
 ſingle and crooked, with ten ſtripes apiece, at each place, in
 the bitter cold weather, through ſuch a length of ground, near
 eighty miles, enough to have beaten their fleſh raw, and their
 bones bare, and their lives into death. Oh! the mercies of

the wicked how are *they* cruelties! the *Devil* certainly bore through *this* Warrant (and as men use to say) *Top* and *top* Gallant, *no* interruption. *Your* wont was through *three* Towns, *ten* stripes apiece, enough to sink down any man, whom God did not uphold; but *this* out-runs the *Law*, or the *Constable*, as the *Proverb* is; here is *eleven* named, which according to the rate of *ten* in a place, is *one hundred* and *ten* apiece, laid on so, as if it were possible the *knots* might *kiss* the *bones* every stroke; and yet this is not enough, if any more Towns, through it *they* must come; but whose foot was in the *Pot*? From whom sprang this unreasonable Warrant? Who influenced all this? And through whose instigation were *they* apprehended and so ordered? And who drew the Warrant? *Omne malum* (saith the *Proverb*) incipit a *Sacerdote*, (that is) *All evil begins from the Priest*, or, *From the Priest all evil hath its beginning*. Priest *Rayner* afore said, (who could not evince his own position, but (as hath been said) instead of proving *three* Persons in the *Trinity*, as he asserted by the Scriptures, said, *They were three* † *somethings*; and so fled away, being not able to stand before the power and force of *Truth*, in these weak Servants of the *Lord*) gathered the force and strength of the Magistrate, most unlike the Ministers of *Jesus Christ*, who suffered, but caused none to suffer; as their Master did, *Even the Just for the unjust, that he might bring us all unto God*, saith the *Apostle*. And when he had no other Weapon, none that is *Spiritual*, *Mighty* through *God* to the pulling down of *strong holds* and *imaginations*, and every thought that exalts it self against the Kingdom of *Christ*, as had the *Apostles*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 4, 5. and the Servants of the *Lord*, his Ministers, have at this day, be sets on this Deputy Magistrate * *Walden*, and makes him to serve his purpose, and turns his Clerk too, rather then fail, and draws the Warrant; as indeed it carries with it the face of a *Priest*, whose Master is the *Devil*; who as *John* saith, *Shall cast some of you into Prison*, *Rev.* 2. 10. who is *Abaddon* and *Apollion* the King of the *Locusts*, the *Angel* of the *bottomless Pit*, *Rev.* 9. 11. who follows *destruction*, and the way of *peace* hath not known.

Rayner the Priest influenced all this.

† Which three somethings became a Proverb in the Country, when they would express something that they could not prove, or make out.

And draws the Warrant, Walden Deputy Magistrate signs it:

* This Walden keeps a Saw-mill, and is a Log-lawyer; but that day that he sentenced these women, his wife caused him to have hand-cuffs put on.

By reason of this man, were they brought before Walden.

as aforesaid, who began to tell them of your Law against *Quakers*; *Mary Tomkins* replied, So there was a Law that *Daniel* should not pray to his God. Yes, said *Walden*, and *Daniel* suffered, and so shall you, (see how right he appears influenced with this Priests Spirit, mad and blind, and knows not what he saith; and how like the Heathen of old, they resolve into the blood of the Innocent, whose presidents they make their examples) and so would know *Alice Ambrose* her name, though he had it in the Warrant; My name (said she) is written in the *Lambs Book of Life*, there if he could read he might find it. He answered, (see whose Magistrate this was, and what state he was in) No body here knows this Book, and for this you shall suffer.

Passages between the Deputy and the women.

The Deputies heathenish expressions of the Lambs Book of Life.

So in a very cold day your Deputy *Walden* caused these Women to be stript naked from the middle upward, and tyed to a Cart, and after a while cruelly whipt them, which the Priest stood and looked upon, and laughed at, which some of their Friends standing by, and seeing, and taking notice of. *Waldens* cruelty, testified against it, for which *Walden* put

The Warrant cruelly executed at Dover. The Priest looks on, and laughs at it.

† two of them in the Socks; having dispatcht them in this Town, and made way to carry them over the Waters, and through Woods to another: The women denied to go, unless they had a Copy of their Warrant; so your Executioner sought to set them on Horseback, but they slid off; then they endeavoured to tie each to a man on Horseback, but that would not do neither, nor any course they took, till the Copy was given them, inasmuch that the * Constable professed that he was almost wearied with them; But the Copy being given them, they went with the Executioner to *Hampton*, and through Dirt and Snow at *Salisbury*, half way the Leg deep, the Constable forced them after the Carts tayl, at which he whipped them; which cruelty and sore usage, the white Snow, and the crimson Blood, the black Dirt, and the white Snow, and the tender Women traversing their way through all, was a hard spectacle to those who had in them any thing of tenderneſſe;

† Eliakim Wardel of Hampton, Wil. Fourbath of Dover.

The tender women they tyed with Ropes to the Cart at Dover, to be whipt, which being very cruel. James Heard asked them, Whether those were the Cords of their Covenant?

* The Constable of Dovers name was Thomas Roberts, who looking pitifully the same night through his extream rage to bring the Servants of the Lord thither to be whipt, as they had been at Dover, they were so far above his cruelty that they made him some good thing for his refreshment, which he took.

though

*They sing in
the midst of
their Suffer-
ings.
Also at Hamp-
ton.*

though the presence of the Lord was so with *them*, (as usually it was with all his Witnesses in the extremity of *their* Sufferings) that *they* sung in the midst of *them*, to the astonishment of *their* Enemies.

At Hampton, William Fisfield, the Constable, having received the Women, to whip *them* there, thought to have out-vapoured *them*, (and said) *I profess you must not think to make fools of men*; meaning thereby, as if *he* would not be out-done, upon the relation of the Constable of Dover what work *he* had with *them*. The women answered, *They should be able to deal with him as well as the other*. So this Constable Fisfield, who profest himself so stout, the next morning would have whipt *them* before day; but *they* refused, saying, *That they were not ashamed of their Sufferings*. Then *he* would have whipt *them* on *their* Cloaths, contrary to the Warrant, when *he* had *them* at the Cart. But *they* said, *Set us free, or do according to thy Order, which was to whip them on their naked backs*. Then *he* spake to a Woman to take off *their* Cloaths. The Woman said, *She would not do it for all the World*; and so did other Women deny to do it. Then *he* said, *I profess I will do it my self*. So *he* stript *them*, and then stood trembling with the Whip in his hand, as a man Condemned, and did the Execution as a man in that condition. But it fared otherwise with one called Anthony Stangel, who having a great desire to do the Execution *himself* on the Women, and so to be Hangman, hasted up for the work, but *he* was disappointed, for it was done ere *he* came, so *he* lost his breakfast; a monstrous fellow, who desired such a dishonourable service, to do such execution on three Women; but this is like his Tenent, who said, *That none could be a true Child of God without sin*.

*The Constable
stands trem-
bling with the
Whip in his
hand, who be-
fore boasted
what he would
do.*

*And Stangel
hastened to be
the hangman,
but came too
late.*

*His Principle.
Ed Wharton.*

*† Thomas
Broadberry,
Clerk of your
Courts at Sa-
lisbury and
Hampton.*

Now amongst the rest of the Spectators, Edward Wharton not knowing ought of what *they* were about, passing along the way and meeting with *them*, came to be one, whose eye beholding *their* torn bodies and weary steps, and yet no remorse in *their* Persecutors, affected his heart, and *he* could not withhold, but testified against *them*, seeing this bloody engagement. Whereupon † one of your Officers said, *Edward Wharton, What do you here? I am here*, answered Edward, *to see*

your wickedness and cruelty, that so if you kill them, I may be able to declare how you murdered them: And indeed murdered them, according as men might judge, in all probability they had with their cruelties, had not the Lord unexpectedly wrought a way † at that time to deliver them out of the Tyrants hands; so through three Towns onely were they whipt, but so cruelly (as aforesaid) and then they were discharged; The Priest had contrived with Walden what to do before, and he made that Warrant, as hath been said, and drew it before.

Being set at liberty, the Women returned to Major Shapleys House, near unto the aforesaid Dover, and from thence they went to a place called Newquechawanack, where they had a Meeting; and * Shubal Drummer, the Priest of the place, was at the Meeting, who sat quiet; and the Meeting being ended, he stood up, and said, *Good Women, you have spoken well, and prayed well, pray what is your Rule?* The Women replied, *The Spirit of the Lord is our Rule, and it ought to be thine and all mens for to walk by.* To which the Priest answered, *It is not my Rule, nor I hope ever shall be.* See the sad condition of your Priests and Magistrates, and those who are led by them, One saith, *The three Persons in the Trinity are three somethings*, and so flies away. Another saith, *The Lambs Book of Life, no body here knows that Book.* A third saith, *The Spirit of the Lord is not my Rule, nor I hope it ever shall be.* I need not Paraphrase any farther upon it, or give demonstrations, the things themselves are open and manifest. Yet these are they by whom the People of the Lord suffer, and who lead, and force the people who are led by them into such Acts of violence as these, to make the Innocent to suffer; and surely as the Prophet said in that day, so it is fulfilled in this of you, *The dark Corners of the Earth are full of the Habitans of cruelty; dark Priests, dark Magistrates, dark People, Actions of Violence, Instruments of Cruelty are in your Houses; you tear the Innocent; None calleth for Justice, nor*

† Walter barefoot at Salisbury got the Constable to make him his Deputy, who receiving the Warrant, thereupon set them at liberty, so they were delivered; but John Wheelright the Priest, advised the Constable to drive on, as his safest way.

Newquechawanack.

* Shubal Drummer Priest.

His denial of the Spirit to be his Rule.

any

any pleadeth for Truth; Ye trust in vanity, and speak lies; Ye conceive mischief, and bring forth Iniquity; you haich Cockatrice Eggs, and weave the Spiders Web; he that eateth of your Eggs dyeth, and that which is crushed, breaketh forth into a Viper: Your works are works of Iniquity, and the acts of violence are in your hands: Your feet run to evil, and they make hast to shed Innocent blood: Your thoughts are thoughts of Iniquity, wasting and destruction is in your Path: The way of Peace you know not, and there is no judgement in your goings: You have made you crooked Paths, whosoever goeth therein shall not know Peace: Your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity: Your lips have spoken lies, your tongues have muttered perverseness; therefore is Judgement far from you, neither doth Justice overtake you. As it was complained of old, Isa, 59. 3. to 10. And the Lord God will sweep you away, your Webs shall not become Garments, neither shall you cover your selves with your works; the day of evil is coming upon you, and you shall receive according to your works, and the time is near.

More Sufferings at Dover
The Women
return thither.

Are halld out
of the Meeting
whilst at
Prayer, by T.
Roberts, and
his Brother.
Toe c uel u-
sage of the
Women
Al. Ambrose
halld out.

† Tho Canny.

And Mary
Tomkins.
† Old Thomas
Roberts,

But to proceed; After a little space, from Major Shapleys they returned again to Dover, the place of their late barbarous Execution, and there visited their Friends, who had both received and suffered with them; where being met together on the next first day of the week: after their coming together, whilst they were in Prayer, the Constables, Thomas Roberts aforesaid, and his Brother John, like Sons of Belial being heated by the Priest, having put on their old Cloaths, with their Aprons, on purpose to carry on their drudgery, came into the Meeting, and laid hands on Alice Ambrose as she was in Prayer, and taking her, the one by the one Arm, and the other by the other Arm, they unmercifully dragged her out of doors, with her face toward the Snow, which was near knee deep, over stumps, and old Trees, near a mile; in the way of which, when they had wearied themselves, they commanded two others to help them, and so laid her up Prisoner in a very † wicked mans house; which when they had done, they made haste, with the rest that were with them, to fetch Mary Tomkins; whom as they were dragging along, with her face towards the Snow, the poor † Father of these two wicked Constables followed

followed after lamenting and crying, *Wo that ever he was Father to such wicked Children.* So thither they haled *Mary Tomkins* also, and kept them both all night in the same house; and in the morning, it being exceeding cold, they got a certain Boat, or Canoe, or kind of Trow, hewed out of the body of a Tree, which the *Indians* use on the Water, and in it they determined to have the three women down to the Harbours mouth, and there put them in, threatening, *That they would now so do with them, that they would be troubled with them no more.* Whither to go the three women were not willing; they forced them down a very steep place, in deep Snow, and furiously † they took *Mary Tomkins* by the Arms, and drag'd her on her back over the stumps of Trees down a very steep Hill, to the Water side, so that she was much bruised, and often was dying away; and *Alice Ambrose* they plucked violently into the Water, and kept swimming by the Canoe, being in danger of drowning, or to be frozen to death, (What Acts of violence and cruelty are here!) And *Ann Coleman* they put in great danger of her life also, even in the view of their Enemies, in great hazard, and in all probability, they had destroyed them quite, according as they said aforesaid, (viz.) *That they would do so now, as that they would be troubled with them no more;* but on a sudden, a great Tempest arose, and so their cruel and wicked purpose was hindered; and back they had them to the house again, and kept them Prisoners there till near mid-night, and then they cruelly turn'd them all out of doors in the Frost and Snow, *Alice Ambrose's* Cloaths being before frozen like Boards; and it was much & to no other thing could it be attributed, nor no other hand could have done it, but the Arm of the Lord, that *Alice* especially, and the rest had not been killed, such unmercifulness to their fellow Creatures, who were compassed about with the same infirmities of cold, &c. lodged in the Breasts of these wicked men, who thought by these things to have dis-

The lamentation of the aged Father of the Constables, following after them, for their wickedness. From this man, whose labour was at an end, and who had lived in Dover thirty years, and a Member of their Church above twenty years; they took his Cow away, which gave him and his Wife a little milks for not coming to their Worship.

† Edward Waymouth was the wicked one that drag'd her. Hate-evil Nutter, a Ruling Elder, was present, stirring up the Constables to do this thing, for which no Warrant had they, as ever could be known, as did appear; for procuring none, they turn'd them out at Midnight, as is related by and by.

Words spoken, discovering an intent to dispatch them.

Like to be frozen to death, yet nothing could prevail to destroy them.

patcht *them*, but the hand of the *Lord*, who keeps all those who wait upon *him*, preserved, and upheld *them*; To whom be the Glory. *Amen*.

The Priest of Dovers fruits

† Sometimes he was President of Cambridge Colledge but turned out for his tenderness to Conscience.

These are the fruits of the *Priest of Dover*, and these are some of the Clusters of *his Vine*, and the Wine it is of *his Grape*, who wrings *Blood* instead of *Milk*, as old President *Dunster* † tenderly said concerning *your Persecutions*, who before he dyed, prophesied of *Truth*, and the growing of it amongst *you*, though sometimes one of *your Ministers*, who could in no wise be brought to have to do in these *your cruelties*; and the pressure of *this (viz.) Rayners Cup*, and the *Gall and Vinegar* that he pours out into the Wounds of those whom *his cruelty* had torn; and these are some of the *Fountains of wickedness* which flow in *your Land*, through the cruel influence of *you*, who are the *Heads and Rulers* thereof.

Sufferings at Hampton, M. Tomkins. A. Ambrose.

† Seab. Cotton, old Cottons Son, Priest.

† Thomas Wiggins Magistrate.
* Constable Roby.

† Both Alice Ambrose legs were put in the Stocks, & her body laid on the ground, having nothing to sit on,

Another time, it being in the heart of *Mary Tomkins* and *Alice Ambrose* to visit the *Priest* and *People* in *their Meeting-house at Hampian*, about fourteen miles from the said *Dover*, on a *first* day of the week they came thither; whither being come, they heard the † *Priest* confess in *his Prayer*, That he and *his People* had all the *dayes* of *their lives* brought forth nothing but the *Grapes* of *Sodom*, and the *Clusters* of *Gomorah*; and yet by and by he cryed, *Let us sing to the Praise and Glory of God*. At which they being burthened, and groaning in Spirit, before they could come to speak a word, the *Priest* perceiving *them*, called to the *Magistrate* to have *them* out, † who commanded the * *Constable* so to do; to whom they said, *Is the Priest alone to tell you some lies that he is not willing we should hear*. But both *your Ruler, Priest and People*, were much tormented; and *Alice Ambrose* declaring the *Truth* amongst the *People*, *your Ruler* caused them both to be put in the † *Stocks*, and kept *them* there till their *Priest* was gone out of the way, though they promised that they and the *Priest* should have a *sober reasoning* together; the *Priest* being gone, (the old course of the *Hireling*) their feet were let loose; and being at liberty, *Mary Tomkins* stood upon the *Stocks*, and declared to the *People*, which so vexed *Thomas*

Wiggins

Wiggins aforesaid, (one of *your* bloody fellow *Persecutors*, who once pretended to moderation, as some of *you* have done, but for prefeiment sake hath turned into the devilish nature of cruelty and blood, the proper fruit of that spirit, none being more cruel then those, who from moderation are turned into cruelty.) I say, *Thomas Wiggins* was so vexed thereat, that in a great rage he caused her to be pulled down, and they were † bear, and their Cloaths torn very much, and the Constable had them away, both Constable and People being afterward very calm, and inwardly condemned for what they had done.

So these Hand-maids of the Lord having answered his Will in those *your* parts, and suffered the extremity of what was suffered, or ye could do unto them, departed *your* Coasts towards *Virginia*, and *Mary-land*, whither to they were moved of the Lord; not long after which, old *Elizabeth Hooton* went towards *Piscataqua*, and coming to the Town of *Dover*, received the same Imprisonment there; as those had done before her, who testified in that place, a particular of which hereafter followeth.

But before I enter upon the Relation of the Sufferings of *Elizabeth Hooton*, it will be convenient to give a touch of some farther Sufferings at *Hampton*, and other places, which the Servants of the Lord met with in that place, from the hands of those that Ruled for *you*.

Eliakim Wardel of *Hampton* aforesaid, having received *Wenlock Christison* aforesaid into his House, in the name of a Disciple, *your* Court quickly took notice of him, and having fined him for so doing; a pretty Beast for the Saddle, worth about 14 pound, was taken for the Fine, which was far less then the value of the Horse, the overplus of which to make up to him, *your* Officers plundered old *William Marston* of a Vessel of green Ginger, which for some Fine was taken from him, and forced it into *Eliakim's* house, where he kept it lie, and touched it not as his; in process of time, *Eliakim* came to be fined again; and whereas, according to *your* Law, he should have had the overplus of the Beast restored unto him,

T. Wiggins, of a moderate Professor turned a bloody Persecutor.

He causeth them to suffer.
† *T. Wiggins* strook *Mary Tomkins* himself.

M. Tomkins, *A. Ambrose*, departed for *Mary-land* & *Virginia*.

Eliz. Hooton.

Hampton, Eliakim Wardel,

Fined for entertaining *W. Christison*.

Will. Marston plundered of green Ginger for his fine.

The green Ginger forced into *Eliakim's* house.

Taken away again from thence for another fine. No satisfaction for the overplus of the horse.

Seaborn Cotton Priest, his wickedness & cruelty.

Nat. Boulter Treachery and wickedness.

Eliak. Wardel Seab. Cotton. Eliakims pyed Heifer covered & taken away by the Priest for his Rate.

Eliak. Wardel fined again, all his Marsh and Meadow grounds taken for it.

Eliakim and Lidia his wife

and *Land* was promised him, yet *your* Exactors came and took the *green Ginger* away, which was left before, as aforesaid, which was all the satisfaction that was made him; and notwithstanding he came not to *your* invented Worship, but was fined ten shillings a dayes absence for him and his Wife, yet was he often rated for *Priests Hire*; and the Priest (*Seaborn Cotton*, old *John Cottons* Son) to obtain his end, and to cover himself, sold his Rate to a man almost as bad as himself, who is called *Nathaniel Boulter*, who coming in pretence of borrowing a little Corn for himself, which the harmless honest man willingly lent him, and finding thereby that he had Corn, which was his design, *Judas* like, he went and bought the Rate of the Priest, as aforesaid, and came to his heap, and measured it away as he pleased.

Another time the said *Eliakim* being rated to the said Priest, *Seaborn Cotton*, the said *Seaborn* having a mind to a pied Heifer *Eliakim* had, as *Abab* had to *Naboths* Vineyard, sent his Servant nigh two miles to fetch her; who having rob'd *Eliakim* of her, brought her to his Master, for which his Servant not long after was condemned in himself.

Again the said *Eliakim* was had to *your* Court, and being by them fined, they took almost all his Marsh and Medow ground from him to satisfy it, which was for the keeping of his Cattel alive in Winter; just as it was said of old, *As Troops of Robbers lie in wait for a man, so the company of Priests murder in the way by consent*; for they commit lewdness, *Hos. 6. 9.* So it may be said now of *New England*, The Priests and Rulers destroy and undo men by content; who from this poor man in particular, from time to time, so carried away, and seized, and took his Estate, that they plucked from him most of that he had, who notwithstanding, in the strength of the Lord, was carried through with patience the spoiling of his goods.

But this was not all with which he was tryed, but himself in Person, and his Wife sorely suffered at *your* unreasonable hands, in manner following.

His wife *Lidia*, being a young & tender chaste Woman, seeing the wickedness of *your* Priests and Rulers to her Husband, was.

was not at all offended at the Truth, but as *your* wickedness abounded, so *she* withdrew, and separated from *your* Church at *Newberry*, of which *she* was sometimes a *Member*; and being given up to the leading of the Lord, after *she* had been often sent for to come to *their* said Church, to give a reason of such *her* separation; it being, at length, upon *her*, in the consideration of *their* miserable condition, who were *thus* blinded with ignorance and Persecution, to go to *them*; thither *she* went, and as a sign to *them* *she* went in (though it was exceeding hard to *her* modest and shamefast disposition) naked amongst *them*, which put *them* into such a rage, instead of consideration, that *they* soon laid hands on *her*, and to the next Court at *Ipswich* had *her*; where without *Law* or *President* they condemned *her* to be tyed to the fence Post of the *Tavern*, where *they* sat, which is usually *their* Court places, where *they* may serve † *their* ears with Musick, and *their* bellies with *Wine* and *gluttony*; whereunto *she* was tyed, stript from the *Waste* upwards, with *her* naked Breasts to the splinters of the *Posts*, and there sorely lashed, with *twenty* or *thirty* cruel stripes, which though it miserably tore and bruised *her* tender body, yet to the joy of *her* Husband and Friends that were Spectators, *she* was carried through *all* these inhuman cruelties, quiet and chearful, and to the shame and confusion of these unreasonable brut beasts, whose name shall rot, and *their* memory perish. And this is the discipline of the Church of *Newberry* in *New England*, and the admonition of the *Elders*, which are *thus* mighty to the casting down of *Strong* holds, whose Weapons these are, cruel Whips, and torturing of the *body*, instead of reaching to the *Spirit*; and this is *their* Religion, and *their* usage of the Handmaid of the Lord, who in a greater cross to *her* natural temper, then it was to any of *them* to be *thus* abused themselves, came thus in amongst *them*; a sign indeed signficatory enough to *them*, and sutable to *their* state, who under the visor of Religion were *thus* blinded into cruel Persecution.

Thus *they* served the *Wife*, and the *Husband* came not to be very free; *They* having a keen edge against these Servants of the Lord, to undoe and destroy *them* in body and estate, having

Lidia goes to Newberry Church, (of which sometime she was a Member) as a sign, naked.

She is laid hands on, and had to the Court at Ipswich, sentenced to be whipt at the Tavern Post.

† *Priest Cobbet used to sing to the Musick.*
His cruelty Executed.

The discipline of the Church of Newberry.

Eliak Wardell for speaking in the behalf of his Wife.

† The Woman came not to the Court, upon which Simon Broadstreet took occasion to upbraid his Wife in her absence, for coming into their Worship-house at Newbery, which gave the occasion of this encounter. Eliakim reproving him for reproaching his Wife so in the Court,

At Simon Broadstreets instance, is condemned to be whipt at the said Court.

He is tyed to an Oak.

Calls Seaborn Cotton to come and see the Execution.

Old Wiggins comes also.

Seems to pity the man, and yet encourages the Executioner.

He is cruelly lashed, with Cords near as big as a mans little finger, fifteen stripes.

having lastt her so cruelly, and he † taxing Simon Broadstreet, at the Court at Hampton, a little after his return from Old England, for upbraiding his Wife, and reproaching her who was an honest Woman, for coming, as she did, into their Church at Newberry, where he sat Judge, with old Wiggins, Thomas Bradbury, Simon Broadstreet, Robert Pyke, and Bryan Pemberton his Associates, upon him the said Eliakim, and his said Wife; and John Hussy, and his Wife, to fine them for not coming to their Worship, and telling Simon of his malicious reproaching of his Wife, who was an honest Woman, who without a Law they had made to suffer, and of the report that went abroad, of the known dishonesty of Simons Daughter, Seaborn Cotton's Wife; Simon in a fierce rage told the Court, That if such fellows should be suffered to speak so in the Court, he would sit there no more; So to please Simon, Eliakim was Sentenced to be stript from his Waste upward, and to be bound to an Oak Tree that stood by their Worship-house, and to be whipt fifteen lashes; which to execute upon him, as they were having him out of the Court, he called to Seaborn Cotton, the Priest afore-said, Simons Son in Law, to come and see the work done, (so far was he from being daunted by their cruelty) who hastned out, and followed him thither, and so did old Wiggins, one of the Magistrates, (who for his god, viz. strong Liqueur, and choice Victuals, sometimes charged the Countrey with more then two of some of the Magistrates) who when Eliakim was tyed to the Tree and stript, said to Eliakim, I pity thee for thy Fathers sake; and to the Whipper he said, Whip him a good, (such a kind of Kim Kim Generation one shall hardly hear of) which the Executioner cruelly performed, with Cords near as big as a mans little finger, which made him very sore; so they loosed him, having satiated their blood-thirsty cruelty upon him at that time; Priest Cotton

Cotton standing very near him, which *Eliakim* presently perceiving, when he was loosed from the Tree, said to him, among the People, *Seaborn*, *Hath my pyed Heifer Calv'd yet?* which *Seaborn* the Priest hearing, stole away like a Thief.

Priest Cotton near him, Eliakim demands, Whether his pyed Heifer had Calved? The Priest steals away.

Near unto *Eliakim*, at *Hampton*, lived *John Hussy* and his Wife *Rebecca*, another young couple, who in heart and hand were the same, who for not coming to your Worship, feared much as the other had done, unto whom your Robbers often came and took away what they pleased: Amongst many other

More Sufferings at Hampton. John Husley, and his Wife.

He is fined for not worshipping, &c. His goods taken away.

times, to mention one for all; Your Officers came, and finding neither *John Hussy* nor his Wife at home, like impudent Thieves, into the house they got, and made search therein, where finding some fitches of *Bacon*, a fitch or two they took, but not finding a way to go forth below, because they could not make fast the door after them, and there were none in the house, they attempted, like *Felons*, to get out at the hole of the window above, which before they had quite finished, *Isaac Perkins*, *John Hussy's* Wives Father, came forth, who espying them, rated them soundly, though one of your People, and made them leave one of the fitches behind them.

His Bacon.

This as to *Hampton*. Now to touch a little at *Salem*, in my return to *Boston* again, and to give an account of some passages there.

Sufferings at Salem.

A Court being to be held at *Salem*, by *Simon Broadstreet*, *Daniel Denison*, and *William Hathorn*, three bloody Persecutors; Against the sitting of this Court, there was a Town meeting for the choosing of *Constables*, which that it might effectually be done, that the Innocent might suffer, and their Laws be as bloodily executed, as they were made by them, and in their hearts; *William Hawthorn* desired them to choose one *Philip Cromwel*, Because, said he, he will scour the Quakers; (see a blood-thirsty Persecutor, how he is not ashamed in the face of the Countrey, to pour forth his desired thirst of Persecution) who being chosen, and heated by this *Hathorn*, and *John Higginson* Priest of *Salem*, (who blasphemously said,

*S. Broadstreet
Dan. Denison
W. Hathorn,
Magistrates.*

P. Cromwel.

Priest Higginson.

That

That the *Quakers Light* was a *stinking Vapour from Hell*, (a resister of the *higher Power*, *Christ Jesus*, the *Light of the World*, the *true Light* that lighteth every one that cometh into the *World*, who saith, *The Light of the World I am*, who is the *Covenant of Light to the Gentiles*; A *speaker evil of Dignities*, a *presumptuous person*, a *Well without Water*, a *Cloud without Rain*, driven about with every *Tempest*, a *bloody Persecutor*, who hath had to do in the *blood and Sufferings* of many of the *Servants of the Lord*, whose wickedness is well known to the *Lord*, before whom are *all his wayes and wickedness*, who will render unto him according to his deeds; a *wandering Star*, for whom is reserved the *blackness of darkness for ever*.) He made it his business to hunt up and down the *Town*, to find out and disturb them in their *Innocent Meetings*, waiting upon the *Lord*, which one *Michael Shafflin* (a man of an honest Conversation, always tender of those who suffered for Conscience; who for these twenty years hath separated more or less from your wicked Priests, and

Mich. Shafflin

† Being demanded by your Court, how long he had absented from their worship, he answered, Ever since you put the Servants of the Lord to death; which were W. Robinson, & M. Stevenson.

† Traditions in New England, and their Abominations) telling this Cromwel of, (as he came into the said Michaels house) and asking him, Why he would run about and trouble a harmless People that did him no hurt? He replied, Of his Conscience he must needs run whom the Devil drive. So ingenuously confessing what drove him on into those Persecutions. And although sometimes in his rage, the said Philip would say, He would have them all hang'd, meaning the Quakers; and that they deserved to have their tongues cut out of their mouths; and that, If he had the whipping of them, he would make the blood run down at their heels; yet at other times, when he was cool, he would say, Of his Conscience, he knew no more of what the Quakers held, than his Horse. See what rage and fury prompted by bloody Persecuting Spirits in Priests and Magistrates, will run men into, against a People of whom they know nothing, but are ignorant.

† Benjamin Iekon.

This Cromwel having put a † Deputy into his place, and he (the said Deputy) like a Wolf, having hunted for the prey, at the command of his Masters, in he brought to the Court cer-

tain

tain persons called *Quakers* to answering to the end; for which *Cromwel* was chosen, and going when the *Devil* (as *Cromwel* said himself) in his Masters drove him; who being before your Magistrates, they were demanded wherefore they came not to your publick Ordinances? This was put to *Laurance* and *Cassandra Southicks* two † Children (of whom, viz. of *Laurance* and *Cassandra*, their cruel Banishment and death, and other sufferings, and their Children, mention is made in the former Treatise; and what is now spoken, is but of something not mentioned then, to make up the sum of your cruelty) to whom *Daniel* answered, That if they had not so persecuted his Father and Mother, perhaps he might have come. *Simon Broadstreet* replied, That what they had done, was not Persecution but Prosecution. Whereupon *Edward Wharton* being in the Court, cried to have leave to ask the Court one question, which was, Whether what the cruel *Jayler* of Boston had done to *William Brend*, (whose flesh he had beat into a gelly, with a pitch't rope, with one hundred and seventeen blows) which brought him near to death, were Persecution or Prosecution? To which *Simon* said, *Wharton*, hold your Tongue, or we will lay you by the heels. So † *Provided* was put in the Stocks that day; and to be rid of other Friends, they sought to put excuses into their mouths, As that they were not well, and so could not come, &c. But they said, We must not make excuses. And *Elizabeth Gardiner* told them, That she was well, and yet could not come to their Worship. So they were fined according to the pleasure of the Court; and because *Anthony Needham* refused to pay the fine laid on *Ann* his Wife, they Sentenced her to the Whipping-post, to whip it out of her, which the Constable, *Thomas Roots*, cruelly performed; and notwithstanding what he could do with his tormenting Whip, she not crying out, which he endeavoured to make her do, but could not, for the Lord sustained her; he affirmed, That the *Quakers* were a hard-hearted people; but who was the hard-hearted, let the reasonable judge. The aforesaid *Anthony Needham*, being demanded by the Court to pay the fine laid upon his Wife, He asked them, Seeing the Law for Adultery was death; Whether if his Wife had committed Adultery, he

† *Daniel* and
Provided.

Simon Broad-
streets Prose-
cution not Per-
secution.

Wil. Erend.

† They were
both ordered
afterwards to
be sold for
slaves to pay
their fines, as
in the former
Treatise is
mentioned.
Eliz. Gardiner
An. Needham
Anth. Need-
ham.

Ann whipt for
not paying the
fine.

must by that Law have suffered death? So not satisfying that fine, *they whipt her* as aforesaid.

Deb. Wilson,
for going naked
in Salem for a
sign, is laid
bands on, & at
Salem Senten-
ced to be whipt

The *cruel* work and havock ye made of the estates and liberties of the People of the Lord in *Salem*, and other barbarous sufferings with which *you* exercised *them*, put *many* thoughts of heart in *many* of those who feared the Lord amongst *you*, thinking to what these things would come, and amongst the rest, one *Deborah Wilson*, who bearing a great burthen for your hard-heartedness and *cruelty*, being under a deep sence thereof, was constrained, being a young Woman, of a very modest and retired life, and of *sober* Conversation, as were her Parents, to go through your Town of *Salem*, naked, as a sign; which *she* having in part performed, after *she* had gone through some part thereof as aforesaid, *she* was soon laid hands on, and brought before old *Hathorn*, who ordered *her* to appear at the next Court at *Salem*, at which your wicked Rulers Sentenced *her* to be whipt, and her Mother *Thomasin Buffam*, and her Sister *Margaret Smith* to be tyed to the Cart also, the one on the one side of *her*, and the other on the other, because the Rulers pretended that *they* might counsel *her* to what *she* had done; a *savage* cruelty seldom heard of, as it was most barbarous injustice, which was performed according to *their* order, but not with *that* cruelty as was used, or was *express*, for the Constable, *Daniel Rumbal*, had bowels of compassion, who could not be to *her* as *you* would, for which *he* was questioned by your Court, which *he* put off, when *he* bruslingly said,

Tho. Buffam,
Marg. Smith,
her Mother &
Sister, ordered
to be drawn at
cavys tayl with
her, supposing
they might
counsel her.

She is whipt.

† Robert
Wilson.

More at Sa-
lem, John
Small fined.

He was loath to be whipt himself as he whipt her. This *Deborah Wilson*, was Sister to *Josiah Buffam*, whom *you* had used as in the former Treatise, and Banished; and see how the Family *you* have drove, not regarding Age nor Sex; Her † tender Husband, though not altogether of *her* way, followed after, clapping his Hat sometimes between the Whip and her back.

Yet I have not done with *Salem*; amongst the rest that were fined at times by that your Court, *John Small* was one, who being fined by your Court, your Officers mischievously took his best Yoak of Oxen in the Plowing season, which much put him to it to Plow his Land; and which indeed was usually the

the manner, to watch in what the greatest despight might be done to *Friends*, and mischief, and to do it, when seizures were made for the fines you put upon them; his Wife hereupon came into the Court, and demanded of your Magistrates, That if her Husband, and the rest of his Friends were such an accursed People as they did say they were; how then durst they meddle with their Goods, for they must be accursed also? To which *Daniel Denison* turning to the Woman, said, Woman, we have none of it, for we give it to the Poor. Which words being spoken, and *John Gedney* the Innkeeper, in whose house the Court was kept, coming in at the instant, she cryed in the Court, and said, Is this man the poor you give it to, for it is this man that had my Husbands Oxen. Woman, replied *William Hathorn*, Would you have us starve whilst we sit about your business? Which was to plunder them of their Cattel, rob them of their Estates, cruelly torture their Bodies, and do that which was in order to the taking away their Lives, to separate Husbands from their Wives, and Wives from their Husbands, and Children from their Parents, and Parents from their Children; to destroy a Man and his House, even a Man and his Heritage; to root them out from the Land of the Living, and all must be reckoned as in their behalf, or for them; and their best goods must be taken to keep the Magistrates from starving, whilst they sit to do these things to them, the gain of oppression, the tears of the oppressed, the wine of the condemned, which you drink in the house of your God; as the Prophet complained of old, Thus saith the Lord, For three transgressions of Israel, and for four I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the Righteous for Silver, and the Poor for a pair of Shoes: That pant after the dust of the Earth, on the head of the Poor, and turn aside the way of the Meek; and a man and his Father will go in unto the same Maid, to profane my holy Name. And they lay themselves down on cloaths laid to pledge, by every Altar, and they drink the wine of the condemned in the House of their God, Amos 2. 6, 7, 8. Read your State and portion.

And this was the Poor, you took his best Oxen to maintain, of him whom you called Accursed, (viz. *Gedney*) and your

Dan. Denison
W. Hathorn,
Magistrates.

Take his Oxen
to maintain
them to sit to
destroy them.

greedy bellies, who destroy peoples estates to maintain you, whilst you sit to destroy them; and this is Judas his Bag, who said it, Not that he cared for the Poor, but because he was a Thief, and had the Bag, and bare what was put therein, as the Scriptures testifie, John 12. 6.

Salem.

One instance or two more of your cruelties at Salem, and then I shall pass to some other place.

Philip Verrin

Philp Verrin, for testifying among his Neighbours, against the murdering of the Servants of the Lord, which you had put to death, was bound over by William Hathorn to your Court at Ipswich, and there Condemned to be Whipt, which was severely executed for his speaking the Truth.

Whipt.

Sam. Shattock
fined.

And Samuel Shattock, notwithstanding he was implied in bringing over the Kings Letter, to stop your cruelty of blood upon those people, was fined five pound.

A little farther yet, that I may bring in upon you the course of Truth, and its progress in New England, and what Priests are strewed up and down therein, from the one end to the other, whom your Example had led into Wickedness.

Geo. Preston,
Ed Whariton,
M. Tomkins,
A. Ambrose.
Dover.
Oyster River.
Frisht Hull.

George Preston, Edward Wharton, Mary Tomkins, Alice Ambrose, alias Gary, having been at Dover, as aforesaid, passed from thence over the Water, to a place called Oyster River, where on the first day of the week, the Women went to Priest Halls place of Worship, who standing before the old man, he began to be troubled; and having spoken something against Womens Preaching, he was confounded, and knew not well what to say; whereupon Mary standing up, and declar-

† This little John Hill boasted, That he would overthrow Mary, if he could come to reason with her; Thus performed, striking her in the stomach, and so forcing her backwards; he was a Church-member.

The Priest forsook his Market-place.

ing the Truth to the People, little † John Hill, in his wrath, thrust her down from the place where she stood, with his own hands, and the Priest pinched her Arms, whereupon they were had out of the place of Worship; but in the afternoon, they had their Meeting, unto which came most of the Priests Hearers, where Truth gave the Priest such a blow that day, that a little while after the Priest left his Market-place, and went to the Isle of Shoales, three Leagues in the Sea to another.

About twenty miles from Oyster River, near the Sea

Sea side at Gorgiana, sometimes called York, in the Province of Mayn, George Preston and Edward Wharton being, and appointing there a Meeting of Friends, † Priest Emerson, and his Wife endeavoured what they could, with the Magistrates of that place, to hinder the Meeting, wherein they being not able to prevail, they came to the Meeting place before they were come together, and the Priest said, That George Preston was a deceiver; and by the Scriptures undertook to prove him so to be, if he had a Bible; which George Preston pulling out of his Pocket, and giving to him, he turned to that place, wherein the Apostle speaks of forbidding of Meats and Marriages; which G. Preston being not concerned in, for he did neither; charged him with lying, for that he had not proved him a Deceiver; neither was such a one as that Scripture said; the Priests Wife hereupon demanded of him, where he lived? He answered, In the Lord. That's Blasphemy, said the Priest, (what a heap is here of blockish Priests in the Countrey, one faith of the three Persons in the Trinity, which he affirmed, There be three somethings. Another said, The Spirit was not his Rule, and he hoped it never should. And this (to add no more in this place) faith, It's Blasphemy, when Geo. Preston said, He lived in the Lord; whereas the Apostle saith, In him we live, move, and have our being, Acts 17.28. Being baffled here, he fell on Edward Wharton, and said to him, That he might be ashamed to travel up and down the Countrey so as he did, whilst his Wife and Children starved for bread? Who had no Wife nor Child. And the Priest prest him again with the same thing; Edward advised him to take heed what he said; and told him it was good Counsel. The Priest replied, He could prove it; And that therefore he affirmed it. Edward charged him with lying, as he had done at first, when the Priest so said. You have had a Wife, said the Priests Wife, to help out her Husband; That's another lie, replied Edward Wharton. Were you never Married? said she, who before affirmed that he had had a Wife. Not that I know of, replied Edward, for if I had been so, I should have known it. Thus the

† This Priest by agreement, was to have 2 pounds weight of Butter for every Cow, as part of his provision-Rate, & the Priests Wife would many times come for the Butter before it was churn'd, as the Prophet complained.

Priest Emersons assertion of Blasphemy.

Ed. Wharton.

the Priest and his Wife being made up of lies and falsehoods, and filled with ignorance, made their endeavour to, but could not hinder the Meeting, nor accomplish the end which their lies sought to effect. One of the Magistrates Deputies was at the Meeting, and when the Meeting was over, his Wife, and the Priests Wife, fell to odds about Friends, and their Meetings, the Deputies Wife pleading for both.

Yet a little farther to the Southward of Boston and Gorgiana, and to touch at Plymouth Patent.

Plymouth
Patent.
The wickedness
of Governour
Prince, repro-
ved by the
Indians.

The wickedness of Thomas Prince Governour, (oft mentioned in the former Treatise) and of the Magistrates was such, that it became a Proverb among the Indians, when they were charged with stealing any thing. [*All one, a Thief, as Governour Prince.*] (having relation to his plundering the People called Quakers.) And a certain Indian taking a Knife from an Englishmans house, and being told, He should not steal, Answered, He thought so, but now he saw that the Magistrates, and Barlow, did so by the Quakers, (which was the blood-thirsty Marshal spoken in the former Relation) which said Marshal Barlows Commission was said to be so cruel, that it is reported, that the said Governour Prince (as bad as he was) should say, That an honest man would not have (or hardly would take) his place.

Marshal Bar-
lows cruelty.

His description

This Barlow would boast, that he would think what goods were most serviceable to the Quakers, and then he would take them away, when he went to distrain for fines. This was in the dayes of Oliver Cromwel, wherein he grew rich with the spoiles of the Innocent; but now he being grown exceeding poor, he hath said, He hopes for a good time again; such he calls the dayes of ravening and blood. Yet he is so impudent, (or the Witness of God makes him so to think of those whom he had no mercy to) as to say, He thought that the Quakers would not let him want. And truly, such Testimony they bear to the Spirit of Jesus living in them, and of which the Scriptures speak, If thine Enemy hunger, give him meat, &c. and the dominion of Truth therein, that it is said, They relieve his Children, notwithstanding all the villany that he hath shewen to those People.

As

As for this *Barlow*, his natural inclination is to be lazy, filthy, and base to all. In his former years, he was one of the Professors Preachers at Exeter in New England, and elsewhere; of which being weary, or having worn that Trade out, or it having worn out him, he turned Lawyer, and so came into *Plymoth Patent*, where he became a notorious Thief and Robber of the goods of the Innocent, (as the former Treatise hath it at large) by Commission Marshal.

And now that I have given some account of a Marshal, it will not be inconvenient if I speak a word or two of a Treasurer, one *Edmund Batter* of Salem, whose cruel handling of the Friends of Truth in and about Salem for fines, hath had some touch of Relation in the former Treatise.

Treasurer
Batter of Sa-
lem.

This Batter being a Member of your Church in Salem, and a man big in his own esteem, and fit (as himself thought) to be a Magistrate; there being a vacancy in the Magistracy of Salem, by reason of *John Endicots* being made Governour, and dwelling in Boston, there was an endeavour in this man to procure a Commission to fill it up, which he attempted what he could, and whose Competitor therein was *William Hathorn*, (a man often mentioned in this Relation) This Hathorn putting for the business, used his craft and cruelty, (for who seemed most forward in persecuting the Innocent, most pleased the Priests, through whose suffrage such places used most to be supplied) and Batter walkt in the same steps what he could; but Hathorn being too hard for him, put him by, and was set in the Seat; all that which Batter could accomplish, was the place of Treasurer, for all such plunder, as for not partaking with your Sacrifices of blood, the Servants of the Lord were condemned unto in Salem, and the parts thereabouts, or the County in which Salem was.

Being got into this employment, he was much lifted up, and behaved himself with much cruelty and wickedness, hunting after Meetings, and the Persons and Estates of the Innocent, as the Wolf doth after the Sheep, and where he could do most mischief, and vex, and destroy, there he was most satisfied, as was the Nature and Custome of these bloody hunters which were his Companions, particularly, *Sam. Archer*, his

his Brother, *Benjamin Felton* his Brother, and *Hen. Sherry* his Brother, (Church Members) and *Tho. Roots*.

His wicked-
ness.

To say nothing of what hath been already mentioned in the former Treatise, and of many things more; which might make a Relation of it self; nor to enlarge upon *his* working with *Henry Phelps*, Son of *Henry Phelps*, to betray *his* Father into Prison, (who was had there) by discovering the said *Henry* to have entertained Friends, the said *Henry* being Brother-in-Law to *Batter*, whose Sister *he* married; nor how swift *he* was to have found out *William Ledra*, and so panting after *his* blood; I shall give one instance for all, wherein *Edmund Batter* may as well see himself concern'd, as to the answering for blood, as the Reader may thereby perceive how eager *he* was in his pursuit after it.

His cruelty to
Joh. Kitchins
Wife Eliza-
beth, whereby
she miscarried
with her child
which died, &c

she in danger
of her life, not
yet accounted
for.

Upon a time, *he* being upon *his* Scent, and so hunting for the Innocent, with the *Constable*, and being in want of a Horse to hasten after *his* prey; and meeting with a Woman great with Child on Horseback, one *John Kitchins* Wife of *Salem*, as *she* was travelling on the Road, the Horse *he* would take from *her* for that purpose; and so savage was *he*, that down *he* would have *her*, which *he* performed with such violence, that the Woman thereupon miscarried, and lost *her* Child; *her* Name is *Elizabeth*. And so having got a swifter Beast than *his* own heels, followed *his* pursuit, but left the man with the loss of *his* Child, and *his* Wife in danger of *her* life thereby; which *Edmond Batter* hath yet to answer for, the blood of the one, and the suffering of the other, which by that time *he* hath answered for, *he* will find that *his* Treasureship of wickedness in *Salem*, was dear bought, and that *his* hunting after blood, was at a hard rate accomplished by *them*, which may give *him* matter of consideration, that *he* may reflect upon *his* wickedness, and be ready against *his* judgement comes to bear it quietly, for it (from a hand that can reach *him*) *he* must certainly expect.

I had not put the Reader to *this* Relation, but that *he* may see (as by other unmerciful and unheard-of cruelties) what exercise the People of the Lord in *New England* have received from the hands of *you* and *your* Churches, and the Mem-
bers

bers thereof, and how *Marshals*, and *Treasurers*, and *Hangmen*, and *Hunters* you have as bloody as your selves, to accomplish your butcheries upon the Innocent.

Yet a touch at *Hampton*, and so to *Boston* again; *Seaborn Cotton*, Priest aforesaid, understanding that *Eliakim Wardel*, aforesmentioned, had entertained *Wenlock Christison* again; he like a sturdy Heardsman, got to him some of the furcest of his Swine, and himself in the head of them, with a *Leaders Truncheon* in his hand, led the way to the house of *Eliakim*, which was near two miles from his house, whom *Wenlock* seeing, asked him, *What he did with that Club in his hand?* He answered, *He came to keep the Wolves from his Sheep*, (a strange inversion from *Pauls Weapons of Warfare*, which were not Carnal, but Spiritual, *Mighty through God to the casting down of strong holds*, &c. to the *Weapons of the World*) which shewed himself to be a *Wolf*, and the other a *Lamb*, on whom he and his Crew laid hands, like a company of wild Bears; and having him one by one Arm, and another by the other, they halled him away: *Seaborne*, like a valiant Champion leading the way, of whom *Wenlock*, when in their heat and madness they were demanded, *Whether these were his Sheep?* But this was no time to have an Answer; hard they wrought to carry him; and being weary, left him at a house, a quarter of a mile from *Eliakims*, though they said, *They would carry him to the Town*, wherein they lied; for so they did not. Afterwards he was brought to *Salisbury*, but the *Constable* there being out of the way, he had his liberty.

Now to *Boston* again, where I shall find *Seaborn Cotton*, aforesaid, who having little to do, would needs go to the *Priest*; and taking another Priest with him, he would in the first place needs seem to condole their conditions, as Prisoners, saying, *He was sorry to see them there*; but withal told them, *That they were such as denied the Scriptures to be their Rule of Life*. *Fane Millard* demanded of him, *If the Scriptures were the Saints Rule of Life*, and that only by which they were to be led and guided, then what was the Saints of old their Rule & Guide, who lived and dyed so long before the Scriptures were written? *Seaborn* answered, *They had Scripture*. What Scripture had they?

Hampton.
Seab. Cotton
Priest.
Eliak. Wardel
W. Christison
Had by Club-
men;
from Eliakims
house.
Seab. Cotton,
Priest.

Leading the
way with a
Truncheon,
in his hand.

He is set at li-
bertry.

Boston.
Seab. Cotton,
Priest.

*Affirms the
Scriptures to
be written in
Bark of Birch
Trees, before
they were
wrote in Paper*

*Seab. Cotton,
seeking to turn
Major Shap-
leigh, his heels
turned up.*

*Major Shap-
leigh.*

*M. Tomkins.
A. Ambrose;
disputing with
the Priest.*

*Mary was
thrown down
the stairs a-
gain, & again.*

they? was of him demanded. Seaborn replied, Scripture written in the Bark of Trees. Edward Wharton standing by, said; Seaborn in Bark of what Trees? He answered, In Bark of Birch trees; and so with a thing that he could not prove, with a lie in his mouth he went away.

The same Seaborn Cotton hearing that Major Shapleigh was turned Quaker, declared his pity on him, and that he would travel to him ere long, and turn him again. It fell out on a time, that Seaborn being in a house, drinking on the great Island in Piscataqua River, and hearing that Major Shapleigh was at a Warehouse there, he went thither to see if he could turn him, (as he said) as he went thereunto, his heels turned up, and gave him a fall, like to have broken his Neck, or his Bones, whom Major Shapleigh (lest he should be spoiled) helped up again; And this was the turning this Priest made of Major Shapleigh, and Major Shapleigh of him.

And now I am mentioning Major Shapleigh again, and this Priest, it will not be inconvenient if I give a farther touch of some passages that hapned at Major Shapleighs, when the Women, called Quakers, aforesaid, first came unto his House, which hath relation to Thomas Miller, his then Priest.

Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, on a first day of the week, having a dispute with Priest Miller, in Major Shapleighs house, aforesaid, concerning his Worship in his place of Worship; some of his unruly Hearers threw Mary headlong down a pair of stairs, (the fruits of his Ministry) which reasonably might have broke her neck, and which themselves confessed, had she not been a Witch (as they said of her, who was the Servant of the Living God; and they said of Jesus, That he had a Devil, & cast out Devils, by Beelzebub the Prince of Devils) she had so done; yet she had onely a little hurt on the Elbow, but through the Power of the Lord, was preserved from a greater mischief; yet coming up again, they threw her down the second time, which did her not much harm.

The said Mary and Alice being at another time at Nicholas Shapleighs at break-fast; and the said Priest Miller, a certain person

person coming in called him Master Miller; whereupon the said Mary asked him, *Whether he was a Minister of Christ?* If so, he would not own that Title. At which the Priest was so offended, that though there were good provisions before him, yet he rose up in a fret and went his way.

Priest Miller
Forakes his
break fast ra-
ther then an-
swer.

Another time the said Women reasoning with the said Priest about the Fruits of his Ministry, and bidding him to shew them, he said, That if he were at Cape Ann (a place by the Sea side, near four miles distance) he could shew some Fruits of his Ministry; which (it's like) might be the same as at Piscataqua, which produced the effects aforementioned at Major Shapleighs.

Priest Miller
shews no other
fruits of his
Ministry.

And now I am about the Priests, I shall give an example of one or two more of them, ere I return to Boston again, where I shall find something to doing with them there also.

Edward Wharton coming from Rhoad Island to Taunton, and George Shove the Priest hearing of it, his Deacon, with whom he Tabled, came up to the Inn where Edward was, and demanded his name, which Edward told him; whereupon in a great heat, he told Edward, It was known what he was, and so desired him to depart out of Town. Friend, said Edward, What hast thou to lay to my charge? Whose Ox have I stolen? or whose Ass have I taken away? or whom have I wronged? And as for my being in Town, I purpose to stay here, until I have accomplished my business wherefore I came. If you will not go, said he, I will go and call the Constable, (which he did, like a savage Brute) so by and by came the Constable with his black Staff; whom Edward, being busie with the People, seemed not to mind, the man being busie also with his Pipe; at length Edward looked up, and aske the Constable, Whether he had any thing to say to him? He answered, Yes, for he was come to require him to depart out of their Town; or else he must execute the Law upon him, which was to Whip him out of Town. Edward replied, He would stay till he had done that for which he came, and then he would not stay, though they should hire him; And as for thy Law, thou mayst execute it (said he) if thou wilt, but thou wert best to take heed what thou dost, for the King hath lately sent over to the Rulers in New England to

Taunton
Ed. Wharton,
Priest Shove
sends his Dea-
con, and the
Constable to
have him

out of Town.

Edward re-
fuses till he
had done his
business.

charge them, that they inflict no more sufferings upon such as I am. So the Constable kept quiet till he had done, and then Edward departed their Town. These were Professors more inhospitable then the *Gadarens*. And this is *Priest Shoves* entertaining of strangers, contrary to that of the *Apostle*, which saith, *Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained Angels unawares*. And because I am upon the foot of entertaining strangers, it will not be amiss to shew in one instance more, to what hath been already inserted, the barbarous inhumanity of this Countrey upon your Law, even to the Inhabitants and House-keepers in your own Colonie.

Ed. Whartons
journey into
the Northern
parts of New
England.

His entertain-
ment at Saco.
Black Point,
Casko Bay.

Their tender-
ness.

His danger at
Cape Por-
poise.

Soon after Edward Wharton had received his Sentence of Banishment, it came into his heart to go into the Northern parts of New England, and there to visit a people of little or no profession, viz. such as by the loud Professors were accounted as out-casts from all good Government of Church and State; who having escaped the danger of being apprehended in the several Towns, by the Professors, as he passed through, he came to Saco, who having kindly entreated him, and having staid with them a little time, he passed along the Sea-coast to Black Point, and from thence to Casko Bay, where from Coast to Coast these out-casts received him and his Testimony with gladness; so after a few dayes he faced towards Boston again, which put great trouble on the tender People, in sence of what he might meet with as to his life, who parted with him with tears. Here was tenderness from the *Samaritans*, (so accounted) whilst the *Jews*, (these who stood in that nature that put Christ to death) were in a manner seeking his life. So in the fear of the Lord, he passed on, and came near to the place called Black Point, where by the order of one called Sir Henry Jossin, he was in danger to be apprehended, but was not; but on he went, and having waded through the dangerous Rivers, came to a Town on Cape Porpoise, where he was wished to a Professors house, (he having heard of no house of entertainment) who was newly come to their Town, to whom when he came, the man perceiving what he was, would not receive him; but shewed him a house, where he said, He might

might be entertained, but the people told *Edward*, That it was the Constables house ; so *Edward* seeing the treachery, notwithstanding it was night, and that *he* was wet, wery, and hungry, rather then to fall into *their* hands, turned back a mile or more into the Wilderness, to an old mans house near the Sea, and knockt at the door, and desired some entertainment for *his* money ; the old man took *him* in, and refreshed *him* with such as *he* had ; and on the morrow, the man's wife, in the morning, went to look to *her* Cattel, and measing with the *aforesaid* Professor, *he* asked *her* if a stranger lodged not at *her* house that night ? the woman simply told *him*, *There* did ; *He* is a Quaker, said the Professor, and there will be five pound fine for you to pay for entertaining *him*. So before the woman came in, *he* had discovered himself, and *his* Principles, to the man, and the man soon owned *him*, and *his* Principles also ; but in came the woman in haste to tell the man what the Professor had said ; so after a little space, the woman was calm and content, and *her* husband said, *It was the Truth that was resisted. And friend*, said *he*, *although I may suffer for entertaining of you now, yet when ever you come this way, call in, for you shall be welcome ;* and so *Edward* and honest old *Stephen Batson* and *his* wife parted.

He was entertained in the Wilderness by an old man.

The old man like to be fined for entertaining *him*, by reason of a Professor.

But see the difference again between the Jew and the Samaritan ; as *Edward* was travelling upon the Sandy Beech, by the Ocean side, as *he* looked back, *he* saw a man making haste after *him* ; but *Edward* keeping a good pace, got *his* turn over the Ferry before *him*, and went into the Ferry-mans house, and notwithstanding the dread of the Law, the woman having some tenderness of bowels toward *Edward*, because *they* knew one another, from the time *they* were Children in England ; *she* told *her* husband, That *she* would shew kindness to *her* Country man ; so *they* spying a man coming apace to the Ferry, the mans wife had *Edward* into a Room, and set Meat before *him* ; so the Professor came over and entred in to the house, and asked, Whether there was not a stranger came over the Ferry before *him* ? *Yes*, said *they*, but *he* went *his* way. Away went the man to the next Town called Wells, and *Edward* followed after, and in the evening came to Wells,

Edward pursued at Sandy Beech by another Professor.

Is delivered.

Come safe to
Salem.

He is in dan-
ger at Bloody
Point.

Refused to be
entertained by
a Professor.

He is forced
into the Wil-
derness in
the wet, and
dark night, to
seek lodging,
or travel.

He is provi-
dentially pro-
vided for by
the barking of
a Dog.

In the house of
one that was
no Professor.

to a friendly mans house, who adventured to lodge him in his Barn, and in the morning he passed to Piscataqua, and so through all that would evil intreat him in his way, got safe to Salem; but as he was on his way from Piscataqua River home to Salem, at the Point called Bloody Point, he came to a place called Greenland, and night being approached, he went to one Samuel Hains his house, and desired of him and his wife, entertainment for his money; Samuel told him, He did not use to take money of people for his Victuals; to which Edward replied, If thou wilt entertain me, I shall pay thee for it. Samuel demanded his name, Edward told him. Samuel said, He should entertain none such as he was. What hast thou to lay to my charge? said Edward. Samuel replied, He was of those that disowned Godly Magistrates and Ministers. Edward declared to him the contrary, whereupon he suffered him to eat in his house, but would not let him lodge therein that night, (a thing which the Indians never denied him) and told Edward, he was sorry that he asked his name. So he pulled out a shilling, the woman seemed to refuse to take it. Edward said, I have promised to pay, and must not falsify my word with thee. So he laid down the money, and desired a fire-brand to be given him, that therewith he might kindle a fire in the Woods, it being rainy, and the ravening Wolves having made a loud howling a little before him; the night being also very dark, and so dangerous travelling in the Wilderness; this they seemed unwilling to do, but at last gave him one; after he had received which, and he was travelling in the dark and rain, he chanced to fall over an old Tree which lay in the way, upon which the sparks of the brand fell a-broad; upon the sight whereof, a Dog came out of a house, a pretty way off, and the Dog was fierce, which occasioned the man of the house to come out, and demanded, Who went there? Edward said, A Friend. Whither are ye bound? said he. Replied Edward, To Hampton. The man said, It was too dark, and he would lose himself; And farther said, That if he would go to his house, and accept of a hard bed, he should be welcome. Edward gladly received his love, and after a time, the man had him to bed, in which being well refreshed,

fresh, Edward in the morning acknowledged to the man his kindness, and so departed; This man was no Professor.

Had Paul found no better entertainment among the Barbarous Miletians, then Edward, and the People of the Lord had among the Professors of New England, he had neither been favoured by them, nor had the Miracles been done, (viz.) the Viper that came out of the sticks, shook into the fire; nor Publius the chief man of the Island made courteous; nor Paul, nor his Companions laden with many honours. But this Generation are worse then any that were ere before them, who are not ashamed, nor do they blush, though they out-strip Cre- tians, and Indians; and all the known habitable World (all things considered) in such cruelties as these.

A while after Edward Wharton had received the Priests entertainment at Taunton, Edward, and George Preston, and Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, alias Gary, passed Eastward to visit the Seed of God in those parts; and in their way through Newberry, they went into the house of one John Emery, (a friendly man) who with his wife seemed gladly to receive them, at whose house they found freedom to stay all night; and when the next morning came, the Priest Thomas Parker, and many of his Followers came to the man's house, and much reasoning and dispute there was about Truth; but the Priest, and many of his Peoples ears were shut against the Truth; And in the time of their Discourse, the Wind arising in Mary Tomkins stomach, keeping a noise, as usually it is with women; her Body having received no sustenance for the space of near forty eight hours, such many times was the weight and burthen of their wickedness upon them, that they could not eat. One John Rake, after they were departed the Town, said, She had a Devil in her. After a while, the Priest perceiving that the Battel might be too hard for him, rose up, and took the man of the house, and his wife out of doors with him, and began to deal with them for entertaining into their house such dangerous People. They replied, They were required to entertain strangers. The Priest said, That it was dangerous entertaining such as had Plague-sores upon them. Which the women hearing, began to take the Priest to do, for so saying

Milets.

Ed. Wharton,
Geo. Preston,
M. Tomkins,
A. Ambrose,
travel East-
ward.
At Newberry
are encountred
by Priest Par-
ker.

The Priest
&c

The man of the
house fined at
Ipswich for
entertaining
them.

Boston.

Joh. Laurence
& Dutchman

Priest Wilson,
and Priest
Mayo.

saying such false, wicked and malicious words; but he hyed away. Mary called him to come back again, and not to shew himself to be one of those hirelings that flee and leave their flocks behind them; but he would not turn, and a while after most of the people departed; And when Ipswich Court came thither, he was had and fined for entertaining the Quakers.

Yet one Priest or two more at Boston, whitherto I am come again, and then I shall end this interchangeable progress up and down the Countrey, and pitch at something that may peculiarly relate either to particular places by themselves, or to particular persons; for into this kind of Raptody, I am in a manner constrained, because the sufferings and propagation of the Truth, are after this manner distributed through the Countrey.

A Dutch man an Offender was committed for Adultery, and brought before your Court at Boston; Your Governour John Endicott, asked him, Whether he was guilty, or not guilty? The stranger said, No guilt. At which your Governour said, in scoffing sort, No Geld, there is no money, for that word signifies money in Dutch; but the man spoke according to what he could say as to English. So the young man was Condemned to be hanged, and after Sentence, committed to Prison again. Doubt being among your selves of the evidence, after a few dayes, old John Wilson Priest, and Priest James Mayo, came to the Prison to see what they could get out of him; and Priest Mayo, with one or two more with him, told him, His time was near at an end, and that he must shortly die, and therefore now he would have him to confess? Will you have me so confess that which I never did? The Priest demanded, How it could be so with him, and be clear? And farther said, Confess my Son, and give glory to God; with many more Rolo words of Scriptures, by which he endeavoured to make him betray his life into their hands. The man affirmed, He was clear, for he had not committed the Act for which he was Condemned. But said the Priest, You cannot be clear, for our Lord and Saviour sayes, Whosoever looketh upon a fair Woman, and

and lusteth after her, he hath committed Adultery with her in his heart, (see how this Priest, to seek his Devilish ends, can add to the Scriptures) and therefore you cannot be clear. The young man confest, That so he and many more might be guilty. So he watcht them narrowly, seeing they came to betray him, and they went their way; but he was cruelly kept, hard and hungry at work all Winter, in much cold and nakedness, and part of Summer, for the Jaylers allowance was a Sheep skin to cover him in Winter; so that his hard, and cold, and languishing imprisonment, was (in some sence) worse then death, but at length he broak Prison, and so obtained deliverance out of your merciless hands.

And to this, let me add a cruel Tragedy of a Woman of Marble head near Salem, and her two Sons, (viz.) Elizabeth Nicholson, and Christopher, and Joseph, whom you without ground charged with the death of Edmond Nicholson her Husband, and their Father, who was found dead in the Sea; you having received information from some wicked Spirits, (like your selves) that the people did shew love sometimes to the People of the Lords whom you call, Cursed Quakers; your rage soon grew high against them, & into your Butchers tub at Boston you soon had them all three, from their house and goods, which in the mean time was in danger to be robbed, spoiled, and devoured, by such Wolves as your selves are, whilst you had them in Prison; and from the Prison you had them to the Bar to try them for their lives, upon suspicion of having a hand in the death of Edmond aforesaid; but notwithstanding all your cunning and subtile malice to destroy the Mother and her Children at once, yet ye were not able, notwithstanding you fined her in a great sum, (which in the behalf of the Court, your Secretary Rawson was willing to take in good Fish, and Saller, for dyet and lodging, in barrells of Mackrel, (so devouring the Widdows house) and her two Sons, to stand under the Gallows certain hours, with Ropes about their necks, and to be whipt in your Market Place, which was performed with many bloody lashes, at which the young men being not appeald; old Wilson standing by, said, *Oh cursed Generati-*

Marble Head
Eliz. Nichol-
son, and her
two Sons cruel
Tragedy.

on; and at *Salem* to be whipt also, where *Michelson* the *Mar-
shal* (a bloody spirited man) came to see it executed, where
it was so mercilesly done, that one of the *young men* sunk
down, or dyed away under the torture of his cruel suffering,
whose body they raised up again, and life came to him; this
was near about the time of your murdering *Williams Ledra*.

Boston.
A Copy of the
Warrant denyed by the
Constable.

Thus were your Officers punctual to your cruelstie, to see
it executed; but to their duty in giving the People called
The Quakers, Copies of their Warrants, with which they
came to disturb and molest, and their promise so to do; nei-
ther were your Officers careful, nor when you heard thereof,
did you require them so to do, but at your very Court suffer-
ed them to suffer.

† John Lane.
to Mary Tom-
kins, Alice
Ambrose,
though promi-
sed.
They complain
to the Court.

In particular, Merchant † *Lane* coming to disturb *Mary
Tomkins* and *Alice Ambrose* aforesaid, at *Boston*, *Mary* deman-
ded a Copy of his Warrant; he promised it, but gave it not.
They espying him the next day in the Street, followed him into
your Court-house, and complained to some of you, that he had
not performed his word, and demanded, whether it was not
just he should do it? Instead of doing them justice, they bad
the Women not to trouble them. So he violently haled them
out of the Court-house, and down the stairs hurled them; some
of you thinking that they might be with Child, and that that
might hurt them, bad him (after he had done it) not to hurt
them; but neither required him to give them a Copy of the
Warrant, nor did he give it, nor reprove, or punish him for
using them so.

Are abused,

Not relieved.

Eliz. Hootons
sufferings, and

Now to come to the sufferings of *Elizabeth Hooton*, who is
aforementioned, and to shew therein your cruelties to the
Aged, as well as to the Infant of days, that it may appear to
Ages and Generations to come, that your rage hath no Mercy,
nor your cruelty Consideration, of any sort or condition of
people, you who live in wickedness, and on whom lies the
blood of the Innocent; you who have drawn forth your Cha-
racter beyond the president of former Generations; whose
Character I have drawn out for future Generations, that
they may see what you are, who shall know what you have
done,

done, and be rewarded according to *your* deeds.

The aforesaid *Elizabeth Hooton*, being an *ancient* woman, of about *sixty* years old, being *very* unlikely as to *her* condition and Age, to go through such a work, and such sufferings, which *she* might well expect, considering the report of *your* cruelties and blood, beyond what hath been heard of in the *English* Nation, and found amongst *you*; yet being required of the *Lord*, *she* willingly undertook what was required at *her* hands; and having *Joan Broksupp* with *her*, (a woman near as aged as *her* self) who willingly was offered up in the *Will* of the *Lord*, in the year, 1661. set Sayl from *Old England* towards *Virginia*; no Vessel directly hence to *your* parts, accepting to carry *them*, because of *your* hundred pound defence for every *Quaker* which any Ship-master should bring into *your* Jurisdiction. And from *Virginia* knew not but *they* must pass on foot through the *untrodden* Wilderness (as to the *English*) many hundred miles, for that the *Ship-masters*, because of the said defence, refused also to carry *them* thence; but the *Lord* affording an opportunity by a *Catch*, which carried *them* part of the way, *they* went the rest by land, and came to *Boston*, where after a *hard* passage, and many tedious sufferings to women in *their* condition, too long to mention; *they* could find no place to receive *them*, because of the penalty of *your* Laws on *those* that should receive a *Quaker* into *their* houses, as it was to *them* that should bring *them* in; so *you* thought to do *your* work, and to be rid of *those* people that should come from without *you*, as by *other* cruelties, and death *you* sought it, as to *those* that should be within *your* Jurisdiction, thinking to make havock, and a riddance of *those* People whom the *Lord* had sent and raised up amongst *you* to turn *you* unto *him*. So it requiring the love of the *Lord*, and the tenderness of *his* Servants to *you*-wards, who notwithstanding all *your* cruelties and defences, nay the blood of several of *his* Servants, gave not over, but still prest in upon *you* and *your* Laws of blood and death, to fulfil *their* Testimony for the *Lord* unto *you*, and to leave *you* without excuse, that *his* Seed may be raised among *you*, according to *his* Will, and that the Gospel of *Salvation* may be founded forth among *you*, and the

Joan Broksupp
her Companion-
on, 1661.

At, Boston.

great Day of God Almighty be proclaimed through the earth, who is come to judge the Nations with Equity, and the People with Truth; that the poor among men might trust in the Name of the Lord; Yet at length it was so ordered of the Lord, that a woman friend received them, in whose house they lodged, who were weary, and had been hard bestead in the Wilderness; The next morning (the Tide being so up that they could not go away) they went to visit Friends in Prison; but your Jayler and his Wife were so filled with cruelty, that they would not let them in, nor near to the place where they were to see them; but your Jayler haled them up to your Governour Endicor, (the usual civility with which you entertain strangers, and those who come to visit the Prisoners of the Lord, of which much is spoken in this Treatise and the former, who are inhospitable, barbarous, and cruel, and worse then the Indians, who readily do supply them, with what they have, when they travel amongst them, and are forced to wander up and down in the howling Wilderness) and brought them before him, who after many questions, asked them by your Governour, to which they gave answer, as they were enabled by the Lord, and much scurrilous language, as calling them *Witches*, with such like, and threatnings, sent them to Prison, by which dore (and there is no other) they came to see their dear Brethren, and Sisters, who therein were thrust for their Testimony to the Truth; Your Governour asked Elizabeth, What she came for? She answered, To do the Will of him that sent her. He demanded, What was that? She replied, To warn him of shedding any more innocent blood. He returned to her, That he would hang more. She told him, He was in the Hand of the Lord, who could take him away first. Which was fulfilled, for after that he never took away the lives of any Friends more.

So he sent them to Prison, where was well near thirty more, who stood in the capacity of suffering with themselves for the Name of the Lord, into which suffering it was crime enough to be committed, if any one being spoken to, did but own himself a *Quaker*, or to their judgement did but so appear, without having done any thing, or spoken, but coming with

in *your* Jurisdiction; A most bloody and *savage* cruelty, hardly heard of in *any* Age or Generation, by people professing godliness, much less, that as *our* casts (as *you* would reckon *your* selves to be, and with which name *your* High Priest, John Norton Baptized *you* in some of *his* Sermons, which by *your* Order since *his* death are made publick) fled to a Wilderness out of *their* own Land for liberty of Conscience, to *their* own Countreymen, yea to *their* Neighbours and Inhabitants, who such people are as out of Conscience, or for Conscience-sake, come in amongst *you*; the day will come, yea already is, wherein men will be as much ashamed of *your* cruelty, as *you* are past shame in exercising thereof, upon *your* Neighbours, and Countreymen, for their Conscience to God, of which *you* are gone beyond a President, (as *I* have often said) and that which by Ages to come will hardly be believed; yet (as *I* have said again and again) so it is, and the Lord will recompence *you* according to *your* deeds. By this time, *four* *you* had put to death upon *this* very foot, and the blood of many *you* had cruelly drawn by excessive whippings, cutting off Ears, and other inhumane Butcheries, Fines, Imprisonments, selling for Bondslaves, Banishment. Oh the dreadful account *you* have to give to *him* who is Judge of all for *these* things, whose Judgement none can pass. Oh, the shame of men, that *you* must pass through to Posterity, whilst Age and Generation is, of which *this* shall be an everlasting Monument, a line of darkness and blood, which shall incircle *your* name for ever and ever, which shall rot, and *your* Memorial perish (as to any thing that is good) amongst men, and *you* shall know that the most High ruleth among the Children of men.

Being thus brought to the sight of *their* suffering friends, through the same door of suffering, among *them*; they were detained till the Court of Assistance, where there was a great adoe about them, as *I* have instanced before what to do with *them*, some were in the capacity of death, as sentenced thereunto (viz) Wanlock Christison, who being condemned, and appealing to the General Court at Boston, has a reprieve, and was not executed; though when he appealed to England, *you* admitted

mitted it not : now when *William Ledra* appealed to *England*, did you suffer it, but put him to death? (see how you put your selves above *England*, and hold your selves unconcerned as to any relation to your Countrey, though the King was come in ; A man appeals thither, and is hanged ; A man appeals thither, and is sentenced to death ; A man appeals to your General Court, and hath a Reprieve from the Execution, and afterwards set at liberty, and driven with the rest of those many afore rehearsed, with Sword and Club-men into the Wilderness.

The cases of *William Ledra*, whom you hanged, after denial of his appeal, and *Wenlock Christison* aforesaid ; I say, some were in capacity of death by your Law, some of Banishment, some of Whipping, some of this things, and some of that ; a great number was in the Jayl ; A great fear was upon you, what should become of you, who had such a number in your Jayl ; Your Souldiers were commanded to their Arms, your Guards were set ; The Innocent Lambs were brought before you, as so many Sheep among Wolves ; great tossings and revolutions among you what you should do with them, whether to hang ; or banish to the French Forts, or Whip, or what to do, you were in a great strait ; you thought to have been rid of them, but many more came upon you ; the more you shed their blood, the more came upon you to see if their blood ye would shed ; the more you made your Laws cruel, and the executions sharp, the more they came upon the sharpness of your Laws, and the cruelty of your executions, God everlasting (who fainteth not, nor is weary, of whose understanding there is no finding out) brought them in upon you, and distressed you sore ; yet you saw it not, but like as *Balaam*, forced himself against the Angel, who stood in the way, with his drawn Sword, whom yet the Ass saw, and would have turned from, and spake to *Balaam* when he struck him, The dumb Ass reproving the madness of the Prophet. So you thought to have out-wearied them by your Laws, you thought to have made them faint by your Executions ; the everlasting God was in the midst of them, and the shout of a King was among them, which made you fear and tremble when none pursued

you,

you, or came upon you to do any harm. *What shall we do with the Quakers?* (was the cry) some said *this*, some said *that*; Away with *them* into the Wilderness, was the result at last; Whip some, dispatch the rest, *hasten them away*, leave *them* two dayes Journey in the *Wilderness*, amongst *Wolves*, and *Bears*, and *necessity*, and *want of waters*, and *drought*, and *places* uninhabitable, and hardly passable; Perhaps *they* will be there wearied, or *they* may perish, or *they* may never more come upon *us*; so into the Wilderness *they* were driven, and these *two* amongst the *rest* encountering with the *straights* thereof, and almost impossible ever to come out, at least without *some* mischief or hurt; but the Lord was with *them*, and brought *them* to *Rhode Island*, and *Providence*, and refreshed *them* who had come through *such* sufferings and *straits*. And thus were *your* Laws for *death* broken, and the Lord God came amongst *you*, and snapt *them* asunder, and *you* became ridiculous, by how much *you* attempted that, which *you* would have by *them* effected, but were not able.

This being the issue of *their* first attempt upon *you* at *Boston*, *they* took Ship for *Barbadoes*, after *they* had been at *Rhode Island*, and been refreshed there as aforesaid, and to *New England* *they* returned again, and to *Boston*, after *they* had been amongst *Friends* in the *Countrey*, as *they* passed along and through *Boston*, *they* made a cry, whereupon *your* Constable laid hold on *them*, and carried *them* to the Ship, who was so wicked, that he said, *It was their delight*, and he could *rejoyce to follow Friends to the execution as much as ever they did*; notwithstanding *your* Law of *death* aforesaid was broken; so *they* departed for *Virginia*; and *Elizabeth* having also suffered for her Testimony to the Truth, *she* returned to *Old England*, and abode some space of time at her own Habitation.

After this *Elizabeth Hooton* had it upon her to visit *New England* again; and with her, took her Daughter *Elizabeth*, where being arrived, those of *you* who were present, would have fined the *Master* of the Ship an hundred pounds for bringing her over contrary to *your* Law; but he telling *them* that *Elizabeth* had been with the *King*, and that *she* had liberty from

They depart to Barbadoes, & return again.

To Boston, & are shippt away for England. A devilish expression of the Constable.

And comes thither.

Eliz. Hooton, and her daughter Elizabeth return to New England again

from *him* to come thither to buy *her* a House; *your* Officers were stop't from seizing on *his* goods. So much regard *you* had to *your* own Safety, who otherwise had none to *him* that brought *her* over; and it's well if *you* would now mind it, seeing that *no* other consideration would make *you* to admit of such a thing in *your* Jurisdiction; but the Lord is above *you*, and *he* accomplishes upon *you* whatsoever seemeth *him* good.

Her sufferings again at Boston.

She demands liberty to purchase a house to live in, Friends to meet in, ground to bury the dead in; whom you had slain and murdered. And four times was she up at the Court for that purpose, but in open Court you denyed it, and James Oliver denyed it, (a blood-thirsty Persecutor often mentioned in this Treatise) in particular; which is a thing undeniable according to the nature of your Patent, and Plantation, which is for any English in them to dwell and inhabit; so you who came thither to Build, and Plant, and Inhabit, will suffer none to Inhabit, Build, or Plant, but whom you will; and who are unreasonable on all accounts, denying people to live where you come to live; and yet because you could not live quietly in England, you came to live in that Country in which you deny others of the same Nation to Buy, Build, Inhabit, or Live. Whereupon she told you, That if you denyed her a House, the King having promised her liberty in any of his Plantations beyond the Seas, then might she go to England, and lay it before the King, if God so pleased.

So into the Country *she* came, and in the Country *she* was, suffering as is hereafter related; and as *she* could, *she* came to *your* Town of *Boston*, and to answer the end for which *she* came thither, which was, To buy a house for *her* self to live in, Friends to Meet in, and ground to bury the dead in; whom *you* had slain and murdered. And four times was *she* up at the Court for that purpose, but in open Court *you* denyed it, and *James Oliver* denyed it, (a blood-thirsty Persecutor often mentioned in this Treatise) in particular; which is a thing undeniable according to the nature of *your* Patent, and Plantation, which is for any English in them to dwell and inhabit; so *you* who came thither to Build, and Plant, and Inhabit, will suffer none to Inhabit, Build, or Plant, but whom *you* will; and who are unreasonable on all accounts, denying people to live where *you* come to live; and yet because *you* could not live quietly in England, *you* came to live in that Country in which *you* deny others of the same Nation to Buy, Build, Inhabit, or Live. Whereupon *she* told *you*, That if *you* denyed *her* a House, the King having promised *her* liberty in any of his Plantations beyond the Seas, then might *she* go to England, and lay it before the King, if God so pleased.

So neither King nor Kaiser, high or low, rich or poor, have any influence upon *you*, who do as *you* list, whose will is *your* Law, who are inhumane, brutish, unmerciful. Without natural affection, who rather than *Truth* shall have a place among *you*, or those who profess it, *you* will deny that which is now to be denyed by *your* Patent to any that profess *Truth*; if any offend against *your* Laws, (so far as they are not contrary or repugnant to the Law of England, whose Laws ad-

mit

mit of *any* one to buy and purchase, not having respect to *their* demeanour towards the *Law*, which executes its self, and takes its particular advantage on *those* that offend it.) I say, *Your* Laws take hold of *them*; but to deny to purchase, is contrary to the *Law* and *Government*. - I never met with such a *sordid* Generation, and so *base* and *brutish*, that feel so little strength in *their* Religion, that *they* are afraid of a *Womans* coming to purchase, and to live amongst *them*. I can turn me no where, but one new thing or *another* starts up, which so puts *me* to a stand, that I am at a stand how to find words with which to express *you*; but take heed lest *you* who have done *these* things, come to know a day wherein *you* would be glad to have a *hole* in *Boston*, or any other place wherein to hide *you*, when *ye* shall not be able to prevail, who thus deny an *antient* Woman of *your* own Nation, with *her* Daughter, to purchase a *place* to live among *you*, as is the liberty of the Countrey; who also had liberty from the *King* to come and purchase in any of *his* Plantations. The like *you* did to *Joseph Nicholson* and *his* Wife, (mentioned in the *former* Treatise) who came also out of *England* to live amongst *you*, who according to the nature of *your* unmerciful spirit, *you* cruelly exercised, (as the *Relation* of these things in the *said* Treatise, to which I refer the Reader, hath *them* at large) and with much of the *same* barbarous usage treated *you* her, as *you* did *them*, though *her* coming over about what *she* came was with License from the *King*, who is the *Original* of *your* Patent, and the *Law-giver* thereunto; but *your* Will is *King*, and *Reason*, and *Law*, and *Religion*, and *Nature*, who turn *all* things up-side-down, and overturn the course of *Nature* what in *you* lies, and *Religion*, *Law*, *Reason*, and *King*, and are so obsorb'd into the *fiery* Spirit of *Persecution*, that no sap or moisture is left in *you*, that is either *humane*, or truly Religious, which is contrary to *your* end, whose Nature is the *very* Devils, into which *you* are turned from the Nature in which *you* were created, which makes *you* so implacable, unmerciful, without natural affection; but *you* will be met with, and the cup *you* have filled to others, will be filled to *you*, and *you* shall know that *God* is the *Lord*, and that *him* in

his People it is *you* have to opposed and persecuted in *your* Imprisonments, Whippings, cutting off Ears, Chainings, Fines, selling for Bond-men, and Bond-women, denying Habitation, and Sojourning, Banishings, and puttings to death, in the day wherein *he* shall render unto *you* according to *your* deeds.

So there *I* leave *you*, and come to shew what House *you* allowed, or what place of Habitation *you* afforded *her*, or what entertainment *she* received from *you* in *your* Jurisdiction, who came three thousand miles from *her* Native Country, through the straights and inconveniences of the Seas, with *her* Daughter, by License from the King, to purchase and live amongst *you*.

*Her sufferings
at Hampton.*

As *she* went Eastward towards Piscataqua River, *she* was imprisoned at Hampton (that Stall of Iniquity) for testifying against Seaborn Cotton, Priest thereof, aforesaid, who sent *his* man, and took a pyed Heifer from Eliakim Wardel, who owed *him* nothing; and *his* Church Members took from John Hussy, and the said Eliakim, almost all *they* had for Fines, for absenting from the Worship of such a one. From one of *them* *they* took all the fat Kine *he* had, and a fat Calf, with which *they* feasted themselves, besides twelve bushels of Corn, and other Provisions which were for *himself* and *his* Children, and threatened to take away *his* Children as Bond-slaves, for ten pounds more which *they* demanded.

At Dover.

Then at Dover, for asking Priest Rayner, aforesaid, a question after *he* had done, *she* was put in the Stocks, and kept in Prison four dayes in the cold Weather, being an ancient Woman, which might have cost *her* *her* Life, but the Lord preserved *her*. Richard Walden, aforesaid; (whose Wife, it's said, begged the office of Deputy Magistrate for *him*, that *he* might mischief Friends) being *he* who executed *this* cruelty through the instigation of the Priest, as before *he* had done on others, of whom *I* have made mention; more cold storms *she* endured, and Persecution in the Service of the Truth in those parts, then *she* was able to express, being made a strength to Friends, and leaving the others without excuse.

At Cambridge

After this at Cambridge, as *she* returned, *she* crying Repentance

penance through some part of that *Town*, where no Friend had been before, (as she had heard of) she was there laid hold of by a blood thirsty crew, and early in the morning had before *Thomas Dausfort*, and *Daniel Gaggins*; (two wicked and bloody Magistrates of yours, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, and their wickedness) who committed her, and whose *Jayler* thrust her into a noisome stinking *Dungeon*, where there was nothing to lie down or sit on, and kept her there two dayes and two nights, without helping her to Bread or Water; and because one *Benanuel Bower* (a tender Friend) brought her a little Milk in this her great distress, wherein she was like to have perished, they cast him into Prison for entertaining a stranger, (such salvage Bruits are you) and fined him five pounds. After two dayes end, and this cruel usage, and her lying two dayes and two nights in this dismal Cell, they had her to the Court, and demanded of her, Who had received her? She answered him that spake to her, *If I had come to thy house, I should have seen if thou wouldst have received me*, (for I was much wearied with my travel, and they ought to entertain strangers) He said, He would not. Then she said, *Sell me a House, or let me have one to Rent, that I may entertain strangers*; and laid the Kings Promise before them concerning the liberty they should enjoy beyond the Seas, but they regarded it not; but for her entertainment, and in recompence of their cruel usage to her, the noisome *Dungeon*, and Imprisoning, and Fining, him that gave her a little Milk, when neither Bread nor Water she had from you in two dayes, as aforesaid; they ordered her to be sent out of their Coasts towards *Rhoad Island*, and to be Whipt at three Towns, ten stripes at each, by the way; so at *Cambridge* she was tyed to the Whipping post, and lashed with ten cruel stripes, with a three-stringed Whip, with three knots at an end; and at *Water Town* she was laid on with ten stripes more of Rods of *Willows*; And to make up all, at *Dedham* in a cold frosty morning they laid on her aged Limbs ten lashes more with exceeding cruelty, at a *Carts* tayl; and being thus torn and beaten, her skin and flesh, with the aforesaid extremities, they put her on Horseback and carried her a weary Journey on Horseback many miles into the Wild

*Benanuel
Lower.*

*She demands
to purchase a
house, &c. at
this place.
Is denied.*

derness, and towards night left *her* there, where were many *Wolves*, and *Bears*, and *wild Beast*, which used sometimes to set upon *living Persons*, and many *deep Waters* to pass through, there to purchase a *House* and *Ground*, which might hold *her* *Tabernacle*, or lodge it therein; for themselves said, *They thought they should see her no more*. And the whole prosecution of this devilish Sentence seems to imply nothing less, and indeed to such an *aged Woman*, who weary and tired in her body, was cast into a *filthy Dungeon*, where there was nothing to lie or sit upon in the *cold* weather; and after *she* had been kept there *two dayes* and *two nights* from *Bread* and *Water*, saving a little *Milk*, and for entertaining *her*, *he* that brought and did it, was Fined, and Imprisoned, as aforesaid, to be had forth in this weak and fainty condition, and whipped so cruelly, at *three* several *Towns*, and then to be had on *Horseback* and left in the *vast Wilderness* towards night, with *her* *Aged Body* torn and mangled, as aforesaid, where *she* had *twenty miles* to pass through to *any Town*, where were *Waters*, *Bears*, *Wolves*, &c. and in a *cold* season, *frost* and *snow*, in a *strange* place, and in the *night*, where *she* might have wandred up and down till *she* had perished, reasonably fulfilled *their* desire; for which purpose, (*viz.*) that *such* a desire might be fulfilled, to wit, that there *she* might have perished, these things bespake *their* intent as it doth: A *horrid* piece of *inhumane* butchery. But the *Lord* who never faileth those that put *their* trust in *him*, who preserved *Daniel* in the *Lyons Den* of old, who preserves *them* that suffer for *his* Name, and obey *his* Will, was near to, and preserved *her*, and through the *Waters*, many of which *she* passed through, with the peril of *her* life, and all other the extream inconveniences of that *her* condition, led *her* through and upheld *her* aged, weary, martyred Body, and brought *her* the next morning to a Town called *Rehoboth*, being neither weary, nor faint, and then to *Rhoad Island*, to *Friends*, where *she* was refreshed, and gave *Glory* to the *Lord*, who had counted *her* worthy, & enabled *her* to suffer for *his* Name, beyond what *her* Age and Sex could otherwise reasonably have born, who never faileth *them* that put their trust in *him*.

Being

Being come to *Rhod Island*, and having been there refreshed among the People of the Lord, it was with her to return near to *Cambridge*, and to fetch her Cloaths and other things, which those cruel Monsters would not suffer her to take with her, when they whipt, and sent her away as aforesaid; so she took her Daughter with her, and travelled thither from *Rhod Island*, being about eighty miles distant, whither to being come, the aforesaid *Thomas Dausfort* being grieved that she was alive, made a Warrant to the Constable of *Charles Town* to apprehend them, and *Sarah Coleman*, an ancient Woman of *Scituate*, who with another with her, met them in the Woods, as they were going back; and having bid them stand in the Kings Majesties Name, as they said, demanded whether they were *Quakers*? for that he had a Warrant to apprehend *Quakers*; and asked them, What they were? *Elizabeth* answered, Wilt thou apprehend thou knowest not who, nor for what? We are Christians, and the Servants of the Living God. He replied, I suppose you are *Quakers*, therefore in his Majesties Name, Stand. What Majesty? said *Elizabeth*. The Kings, replied the Constable. Now thou hast told a lie, for I was later with the King than thou, and he hath made no such Laws. He replied, I must have you to *Cambridge*. But the Friend that was an Inhabitant said, She would not go except he carried her. So they passed on the way, and the Constable, and the other man followed them, till they came to a Town, where meeting with a Cart, he commanded those with the Cart to aid him, and violently set them therein, having no respect to the ancient Woman the Inhabitant; and so drew them to *Cambridge*; where your Magistrates being not at home, they were kept Prisoners till night, at which time *Daniel Goggin* coming home, they were fetch't before him, where there were a crew of wicked *Cambridge* Schoollars, that abused them both at the first time, and now. *Goggin* demanded of *Elizabeth*, Wherefore they came thither, seeing they had warned her not to come there any more. She replied, That she came not there of her own accord, but was forced thither as she had been to fetch her Cloaths, which they would not let her take with her, when they first whipt and sent her away, and now

At *Cambridge* again, and her daughter, and *Sarah Coleman*, a mother of seven children, an Inhabitant.

She

She had fetch't them, and was returning back, she was taken up out of the high way and forced thither. (So dealing unreasonably, first punishing her for coming thither, and denying to let her take her cloaths with her when they first sent her away, and then when she had fetch't her cloaths, and was returning back, brought them thither on purpose to punish them, as if they otherwise had came thither.) Then of the old Woman he demanded, Whether she owned Elizabeth and her Religion? She answered, She owned the Truth. So he wrote them down all three, for Vagabond Quakers, though the old Woman was an Inhabitant whom he knew, and who dwelt but a little way from him. And of Elizabeths Daughter, that only accompanied her Mother, he demanded, Dost thou own thy Mothers Religion? To which she answered nothing.

So he sent them that night to the house of Correction, and the next morning betimes the Whipper came up, before it was light, and asked them, Whether they would be whipt there? Elizabeth demanded of him, Whether he was come to take away their blood in the dark? And whether they were ashamed that their deeds should be seen? So he took Elizabeth down stairs, and whipt her by her self, with a three-stringed Whip, ten stripes; then he brought down the ancient Woman, and did the like by her; and then Elizabeths Daughter, and gave the like to her, who was never there before, nor had said or done any thing; with which they were not satisfied, but sent the Constable with them to other Towns, there to have them whipt again; their Order being, To have them from Constable to Constable towards Rhoadsland, and to be whipt at three Towns. This was the entertainment they received at Cornbridge, (your University of mickliffe) and from Thomas Dausfort, and Daniel Goggin Magistrates, who (viz. Goggin) desired his Brother Harborn to send some Quakers that way that he might see them last, as is mentioned elsewhere in this Treatise; and the entertainment they received in other parts, and the House, and Lodging, and Ground, other then which she could have no purchase, which she paid for, and her Daughter at this rate, though with License from the King, and according to the priviledge of the Countrey, and your Patent,

(he

she came and ought to have had liberty to have purchased, and live amongst you.

Well these things being done, to Boston she came again, and warned ye to Repentance, and of the terrible day of Wrath, that was coming upon you from the Lord; as to which, by your Governour she had audience a little while; after which she was brought to your Deputy, and delivered her Message to him also, who ill rewarded her for her good will to him and all men, and sent her to the House of Correction, where at the Whipping-post she was whipt ten stripes, with such a Whip as aforesaid: From thence sent to Roxbury, and there whipt at a Carts tayl; and from thence to Dedham, where again she was whipt at the Carts tayl, where another man was also whipt with her; and from thence to Medfield, where their blood was thirsted after, but they were restrained from doing any thing to her. Nevertheless they sent her that night into the Wilderness, where she had above twenty miles to go in the exceeding-cold, whose body had been so torn and abused, where she was constrained to go through several watery places; yet she was preserved, and brought to a Town the next day, where sometimes she abode among Friends; and afterwards went to Boston again, where for asking a Priest a question, she was cast into Prison two dayes, and then whipt from the Prison door, to the end of the Town, at a Carts tayl, and then sent to Rhoad Island, with a Warrant to whip her from Town to Town, threatening her withal, That if ever she came again, you would put her to death, or brand her in the Shoulder.

At Boston
again.

Many more passages might be mentioned of her sufferings, who thus suffered, an aged Woman, for her Testimony to the Lord; as her being Imprisoned at your Governours Funeral: she saw an end of him, who boasted, He would take away the lives of more of our Friends, when she warned him of shedding any more innocent blood; to whom she answered, That he was in the Lords hand, who could take him away first before he hanged any more. Even so he was taken away first, as she had said unto him; and she was twice more afterwards Imprisoned; also at Braintree she was Imprisoned two days after her arrival, and at Salem, and by force had her Horse (as was Wentlock Christi-

At Braintree,
At Salem,

sons

sons Horse also) took away to carry the *Kings Commissioners*, so that *she* was constrained to go *threescore miles* on foot, to the endangering of *her* life in the *Wilderness*. But what hath been said shall suffice at *this* time, wherein through *such* variety of *many* cruel sufferings, *I* am constrained, though *I* do but in a manner but touch at *many* things, to pass along, lest in *these* tedious and howling *Wildernesses* of *cruelties* and *sufferings*, and the Relation of *them*, the Reader should be tyred; but it is harder to feel & go through *them* that way, then to read *them* over this, which that *they* may be, and continued to *Posterity*, as a Record of the virtue of that which is *everlasting*, how it hath carried the *Friends of Truth* in *this* Age, as it hath done in the *former* Ages, through *all* they have met with, for *their* Testimony to the *Lord*; and that it may be a blot unto the *house* of the *wicked*, who shew *themselves* in *this* day, as in the *dayes* of *old*; and a Memorial to the *faithfulness* of the *Servants* of the *Lord* to *his* Name, in the movings of the *Lord* *I* have written; All which saith *Elizabeth Hooton*, and much more *I* have gone through and suffered, and much more could *I* for the *Seeds* sake, which is *buried* and *oppressed*, and as a *Cart* is laden with *Sheaves*, and as a *Prisoner* in an *inward* Prison-house; yea the love that *I* bear to the *Souls* of *all* men, makes *me* willing to undergoe whatsoever can be inflicted.

Katherine
Chatham, her
sufferings at
Boston.

Yet a word or two of *Katherine Chatham*, of whom *I* have made mention in the *Margin* of what hath been said before. *She* came from *London* through many *Tryals* and hard travels to *Boston*, and appeared cloathed with *Sack-cloath*, as a sign of the indignation of the *Lord* coming upon *you*, in the weight and sence of which *she* came there, and appeared. For which, instead of coming to a sence of *your* condition, and what was coming upon *you*, in the burthen of which *she* came so far, and through such hardship, *you* laid hands upon *her*, and put *her* in *Prison*, out of which *you* would give no deliverance, until with the *seven* and *twenty* aforesaid, *you* drove *her* with *Sword* and *Club* into the *Wilderness*, and that was the reward *you* gave *her* for *her* love in coming so amongst *you*. And such was *your* rage and cruelty to *her*, that at *Ded-*
ham

ham, she was not only whipt, but the man that was with her, and travelled together, though you had little to say to him. After this she coming to Boston again, you Imprisoned her a long season there to pay a fine you laid upon her, thinking to be rid of her that way, in cold Winter, and sad extremities, and sickness near to death; but the Lord otherwayes provided for her, and disappointed you, for she was took to Wife by John Chamberlaine, and so became an Inhabitant of Boston.

Dedham.

Boston.

Thus much of Elizabeth Hooton, and her Sufferings, and Katharine Chatham, in New England; I shall now turn towards the Dutch Plantations, and then to Dover again, and give a little farther account of the cruelties in those parts, that I may draw both ends of your Jurisdiction together, and give the sum of your cruel and inhumane treating of the Innocent.

Sufferings in the Dutch Plantations.

Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, having through many cruel sufferings and sore travels, finished what they had to do in New England at that time, they Embarked for Long Island, in their way for Virginia & Mary-Land, as aforesaid, whom Edward Wharton and William Reap accompanying as far as Oyster Bay, they went towards New Amsterdam, and so came to a Town called Vlissing, or Flushing, where they were refreshed in the faithfulness & fellowship of the People of the Lord there, who being under the Dutch Government, had suffered much Persecution, and spoyling of their Goods, by Peter Stevenson, the Dutch Governour, who was by some of you much incited thereunto, and therefore I place it under the head of the Sufferings of the People of the Lord amongst you.

Amongst the rest, John Bound found a barbarous Treatment from the said Peter Stevenson, whom he took from his aged Father, and dear Wife, and Children, and threw into a noisome Dungeon, where having kept him very long, and well nigh famished him to death, he was brought forth, and Sentenced into Banishment, and carried forthwith on Ship-board

M. Tomkins,
A. Ambrose,Ed Wharton,
William Reap

Flushing.

Peter Steven-
son Dutch
Governour.John Bound's
cruel suffer-
ings there;
Cast into a
Dungeon;
Near famish'd

Banished.

With great
cruelty is
brought to
Holland.

Come to
England.
Returns to the
Town.

Meets with
the Governour
Who is abashed
and repents.

Parallel with
N. England,
and they
Judged there-
by.

They come to
Grave Sands,
John Tilton,
Mary his
Wife, Michael
Spicer, her
Son Samuel,
sufferers there
and others.

John Nicholson
John Liddal,
Jane Millard,
met them there
from Virginia.

They are re-
freshed toge-
ther.

board into a Dutch Vesse, and not suffered so much as to see his Family, and had to Holland, one of the United Provinces, where having acquainted the States with the hard measure he had sustained from the Governour aforesaid, and on Ship-board in his way thither, he was set at liberty, who thereupon came for England, and from thence by the way of Barbadoes, to Long Island again, and to the Town where he had been so cruelly entreated, and from whence he had been Banished, as aforesaid. In the streets of which he one day passing along, met with the aforesaid Governour, who appeared much abashed for what he had done to John, and told him, He was glad to see him safe come home again; and moreover told him, He hoped he should never do so any more to any of our Friends. Which was an ingenuity that I never yet could hear of from any of you to your Neighbours, and Countreymen, after all your cruelties. A good sign of repentance, with which you never were found exercised, which will return upon you, and prove your Judgement, from whom we remorse or pitty ever was understood to have proceeded, who worse then the worst of men have alwayes appeared, whose Judgement will be without a Parallel, as you are in wickedness beyond a President.

Having been at Flushing, the aforesaid passed to Grave-Sands, now called Graves End, since the English took it in, where John Tilton, and Mary his Wife, and Michael Spicer, and her Son Samuel, had much suffered for the Truth, (especially Samuel, who had suffered sore Imprisonment near unto death) in Imprisonments, and much spoiling of their Goods in that Town, as had divers others of the Servants of the Lord in that Town by the Dutch Rulers; into which Town being newly entred, and into John Tiltons house, Joseph Nicholson, and John Riddal, and Jane Millard came, as they were in their return from Virginia, where they had been, and at Mary-Land, through many hard travels, and Sufferings in the Service of the Lord; being thus brought together unexpectedly, by the good Hand of the Lord, and refreshed by him in the love and fellowship of him, and one another, it was in their hearts to go to the chief Town of the Dutch, unto which as they were passing through a Town called

Flat

Flat Bush, John Liddal cried aloud in the streets, Warning them, To turn by true Repentance from the evil of their ways. Upon which the Scout soon laid hold on, and had him to his house, and lock't both his Legs in Irons, till he was ready to bring him to the Town where the Governour dwelt, which was about ten miles; which Edward Wharton looking upon, asked him, Wherefore he had put him in Irons? and what evil had he to lay to his charge that he thus dealt with him. He answered, It was their Governours Order to do so to the Quakers if they preached amongst them. To whom Edward replied, If a Drunkard, or a Whoremaster, or a Swearer come amongst you, him you will not so deal withal; but if a man be sent of God amongst you, to turn you from the evil of your ways, him you put in Irons. The Scout answered, That when he had Dined he would take off his Irons, and have him to the Governour. So with a Dutch Guard he led him to the Fort, seven or eight Friends accompanying him, through whom in the streets the Trumpet of the Lord sounded with great dread, and was very terrible, at the cry of which much People came together, and the Heathen raged, and the People were like the troubled Waters, and coming near the Fort, out came the Fiscal, and in a proud and lofty manner had them into the Fort, and with violence threw them one after another into Prison, regarding neither Men, nor Women, and telling them, That they did not hang them by the Necks, as their Countrey men in New England did; (see how through your example they were invited unto cruelty, and judged it little in comparison to yours) and there kept them a day or two, after which, upon the request of a Dutch Master of a Vessel, the Governour ordered them to be put on board his Ship, who carried them away, reserving John Tilton and his Wife for a farther cruelty there in Prison; but the Lord hath since met with that Governour for his cruelty, and so will he do with all his Enemies in his due time. The names of the Prisoners are, Joseph Nicholson, John Tilton, Mary Tilton, John Liddal, William Reap, Edward Wharton, Alice Ambrose, Mary Tomkins, Jane Millard.

Go towards the chief Town of the Dutch. John Leddal cries Repentance through Flat Bush Town, he is laid hold on, put in Irons by the Fiscal.

And had to the Governour.

He is cast into Prison, and J. Nicholson, John Tilton, Mary Tilton, W. Reap, E. Wharton, A. Ambrose, M. Tomkins, Jane Millard, they accompanied him, and after two days except J. Tilton & Mary, Shipt, and set at liberty.

Thomas Newhouse taken declaring the Word of the Lord in the Fort at Manadas amongst the Dutch, was pull'd and hal'd to Prison, where he was kept about five dayes; and being that they could not stop his mouth from declaring the Truth, they took this course, to send him away to New England, and so put him aboard a Vessel.

Dover.
Ed. Whaiton.

Warns the
Court at Do-
ver.

In the year 1663. on the fourth day of the fifth month, Edward Wharion aforesaid, being at Piscataqua River, and hearing of the cruelties done by your Court of Dover, aforesaid, was pressed in Spirit forthwith to repair to the Court, where your Magistrates being assembled, he cryed aloud, and said, *Wo to all Oppressors and Persecutors, for the Indignation of the Lord is against them. Therefore Friends, whilst you have time, prize the day of his Patience, and cease to do evil, and learn to do well; ye who spoil the poor, and devour the needy; ye who lay traps and snares for the Innocent.*

The Wiggins
puts him in
the Stocks,

These words of advice and counsel; and denunciation of Judgement, against that which oppresses and persecuted the Innocent, were very hard to your Court; and Thomas Wiggins aforesaid, (an old black and a bloody Professor) being in a great rage, cryed out, *Where is the Constable? Where is the Constable?* The Marshal coming, they haled him to the Stocks, and put in his legs, and so held him, till having consulted what to do, they had him in again, and then William Hathorn, of Salem, (Edwards own Town, where was his place of Habitation) who sat that time Judge of the Court, demanded of him wherefore he came thither? Who answered, *To bear my Testimony for the Truth against persecution and violence.* Whereupon the said Wiggins fell a raging again, to whom Edward said, *Thomas Wiggins, Thomas Wiggins, Thou shouldst not rage so, thou art old, and very gray; and thou art an old Persecutor, it's time for thee to give over, for thou may be drawing near to thy Grave; which gave issue to an Order to whip him through three Towns, ten stripes at each Town; and so to convey him to his own dwelling, from Constable to Constable, as a Vagabond Quaker, who was a housekeeper at Salem, and there about his business; which cruel Sentence, as the Clerk was writing, (who was Edwards next Neighbour in Salem) Will. Hathorn*

And W. Hathorn,
For warning
Tho. Wiggins

Sentences him
to be whipt
through three
Towns, ten
stripes each, as
a Vagabond,
who was a
house-keeper.
† Elias Stile-
man, Senior.

bid

bid him write it in the Kings Majesties Name ; Whereupon Edward Wharton said, Friends, you do wrong the King, and abuse his Name, for I believe (said he) he never gave you such order so to abuse his honest Subjects. William answered, The King hath sent over to us, to make sharp Laws against you, for in so doing he should like it well, for they do the same in England. Which was the knack with which he pleased you, when he beat down your Power, by the rest of the Contents of his Declaration, as aforesaid.

The Copy of the Pals is as followeth.

*The Copy of
the Warrants.*

To the Constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newberry, Rowley, Ipswich, Wennam.

YOU, and every of you, are required in his Majesties Name, (and yet you will not obey his Commissioners, nor submit unto his Authority divested unto them ; nor his other Orders, for some of you to appear in England, and answer to what shall be laid to your charge, as hath been said) to receive into your custody, Edward Wharton, a Vagabond Quaker, and convey him from Town to Town, until he come to the place of his Habitation in Salem ; and the Constables of Dover, Hampton, and Newberry, are to whip him through their respective Towns, at the Carts tayl, not exceeding ten stripes in each Town, according to the Law of Vagabond Quakers in that behalf. This being the Sentence of the Court held at Dover, the fourth of July, 1663. And hereof you are not to fail at your Perils. Dated the fourth of July, 1663.

*The Kings
Name abused.*

Per Elias Stillman, Cleric.

Jeremias

Edward is
whipt at
Dover.

At a pair of
Cart-wheels.
Drawn by peo-
ple.

And endeavou-
red to be had to
the next Town.

He refuses to
go, unless car-
ried on a horse.
He is recom-
mited.

A Copy of the
Warrant.

The Kings
Name abused
again.

Jeremy Tiblets Constable, having received the Warrant, he was bid to have Edward away, and tye him to the Cartt tayl, and whip him through the Town. To which Edward manfully answered, as he was passing from them. Friends, I fear not the worst ye may be suffered to do unto me; neither do I seek for any favour at your hands. And to William Hathorn, he said, O William, William, the Lord will surely visit thee. So to a pair of Cart-wheels he was tyed, with a great Rope about his middle, and a number of People to draw them about, where the Executioner cruelly whipt him, (as in the Warrant) and having loosed him, told him, That he must prepare to receive the like at the next Town, which was about fourteen miles from thence, through the Woods; which being a long way for a man to travel on foot, whose back was so torn already to serve their pleasure in his own execution, he told them, He should not go unless they provided a Horse for him, or that they dragged him thither. Whereupon your Executioner complaining to your Court, this Order, according to this Copy was issued forth, as followeth.

To the Constables of Dover, or either of them.

THese are to require you, That whereas Edward Wharton, a Vagabond Quaker, hath been Sentenced according to Law, and at present a Horse according to that Sentence is not to be obtained. These are in his Majesties Name, (What still in his Majesties Name, and yet rebel against him?) to will and require you, to commit the said Edward to the Prison at Dover, there to remain in safe custody till the next second day of the Week; and then you are to execute the said Sentence according to Warrant formerly delivered unto you; hereof you are not to fail. Dover, the fourth of the fifth month, 1663. Thomas Wiggins, William Hathorn, Eliazer Lusher.

This

This *Lusher* shewed his love to the *King*, in furnishing one of the *Kings* Commissioners with a miserable Horse and a Saddle, the best that he thought fit for him.

This Order being issued out, he was had to Prison, and there uncivilly lock't up in a little hole, where another mans Wife was, who was there for false accusing of her Husband, (what work ye make, who care not how you abuse the Innocent) and on the second day of the next week, he was had out, and put upon a Horse without Bridle or Halter in his hand, having nothing to hold by, but the pummel of the Saddle, one leading the Horse, and two guarding him on each side, as some notorious offender, from Town to Town, and doing their executions as the Warrant required; The Constable told him, That your Judge bad him, if the said *Edward* would not go quietly, that they should tie him over the Horse back, or drag him at the Horse heels; which (if so) might have murdered him, because of the stumps of Trees, and Rocks, and rugged way that was in the Wilderness; but *Edward* was contented herein, that he was accounted worthy to suffer for Righteousness sake, with them who through many tribulations do enter into the Kingdom of God.

Thus it fared with *Edward Wharton* for his Testimony to the Truth, and against your Persecution. I shall now give an account of some others on whom your cruelty lighted at *Salem*, by the hand of the said wicked *Hathorn*, whose cruelty is farther drawn forth in what follows.

This said *Hathorn* before he was a Magistrate, bore Testimony against Persecution, and restraining Conscience in the days of *Oliver Cromwel*, in one of your Meeting-houses at *Salem*, saying, That if such an Act (which you were then about, viz. To restrain from Preaching, but by allowance of certain Persons) should take place in New England, he looked upon it as one of the most horridst Acts as ever was done in New England, and would be as great a token of Gods forsaking New England, as any. And yet after long waiting, coming to be a Magistrate, what a bloody Persecutor hath he been to the Truth?

Not long after *Edward Whartons* executions, as aforesaid,

Joseph

Eliazar Lusher Persecutor, his slighting the *Kings* Commissioner, *Edward* is lockt up with a defamed woman, till the second day of the next week. Then had out, and put on a Horse.

And had to the next Towns, and whipt, and whipt again.

W. Hathorns testimony against restraining from preaching before he was a Magistrate. Now turned a bloody Persecutor, being a Magistrate.

Joseph Nicholson, John Millard, John Liddal, Ann Coleman, whipt. Through Salem, Boston, and Dedham. Ann Coleman near dead. Through the knots of the whip, splitting one of the Nipples of her Breasts, Intends to lay her blood on Bellingham if she had died. For encouraging to the Execution.

She was Banished afterwards at Antegoa.

Salem.

Thomas Newhouse Sentenced and whipt through three Towns.

Edward Wharton testifying against these cruelties &c. Sentenced, and whipt fifteen lashes, by Hathorns order. † Hathorn cried to the people, Knock them down, knock them down because their telling him of his unrighteousness, did not please him.

Joseph Nicholson, John Liddal, Jane Millard, and Ann Coleman, were by the said Hathorns Warrant apprehended, and so cruelly whipt, through Salem, Boston, and Dedham, that one of them, viz. Ann Coleman, was near death, being well-nigh murdered. She was a little Woman, and her back (as hath been said) was crooked, and your Executioner had her fast in a Cart at Dedham, Bellingham, your Deputy, having seen Hathorns Warrant, bidding them go on, and saying, The Warrant was firm; and so encouraging the matter, he so unmercifully laid her on with the rest, that with the knots of the whip, he split the nipple of her Brest, which so tortured her, that it had almost cost her life, which she sometimes thinking might have been the consequence, was willing, if she should have dyed, that her Body should have been brought and laid before Bellingham, with a charge from her mouth, That he was guilty of her blood. But it pleased the Lord that she recovered, though it was long after that she was thus cruelly handled.

Not long after this, John Liddal, and Thomas Newhouse, were apprehended at Salem after the Meeting, and by Hathorns order were brought before him, and Sentenced to be whipt through the Towns, according to their Vagabond Law; which was done accordingly. And Edward Wharton, (because he testified against these bloody proceedings, and the said Hathorns former † deceit acted against him) was had out of the hearing of the said Hathorn, whilst he Sentenced him, and then fastned to the Post, and whipt, by John Massey, with fourteen sore lashes, in his own Town where he lived.

Now Hathorn aforesaid, to do his Brother Guggen a courtesie, as Pilate did Herod, when he had Jesus before him, ordered at the said Guggens desire, that the aforesaid should not be whipt through Boston, but through Cambridge, where the said Guggen

geth. (one of *your* Magistrates) lives, who (as was laid) desired, That *his Brother* Hathorn would send some of the Quakers through that Town, that he might take order for their whipping there. But the Constable of Lyn not being at home, blood-thirsty Guggen was disappointed of *his draught of blood*. And Friends being at liberty, and coming to Boston, you laid hold on *Thomas Newhouse*, and whipt him through that Jurisdiction. The cause of their whipping was, for *his* Testimony in their Meeting-house; where having spoken to them what was with him, and having two glass Bottles in his hands, dasht them to pieces, saying to this effect, That so they should be dasht in pieces.

Thus ran your cruelty from Dover to Salem, and from Salem to Boston, and that way; and now it thwarts the Countrey again, and as *Fire-works* upon a Line, being touched, fly their ran-course, from one end of the line to the other, and so back again, and athwart; So did your Warrants of blood; and to *Piscataqua River*, it posteth from Boston, as it had from thence to *Piscataqua*, almost the two ends of your Jurisdiction.

On the great Island, in the River aforesaid, it seems, *Joseph Nicholson*, and *John Liddal*, crying out against the Drunkards, and the Swearers, they were almost struck down with a piece of Wood by *Pembleton's* man, the Ruler of that place, with which the said † *Bryan Pembleton* being not content; but to justify the violence of his said Servant against the Servants of the Lord, who had bore Testimony against wickedness, as aforesaid, and to shew his cruelty, ordered them to be whipt at a *Carts* tayl, at *Strawberry Bank*, by *John Pickering*, Constable, and to be delivered to the other Constable where he was, for the said end and purpose; but the Constable being cross to their doings, said, That though the Law did require him to get a Cart and Oxen, yet it did not require him to find Yokes, and therefore unless *Pembleton* would find Yokes, he would not do his work; so he set them at liberty.

Daniel Guggen Persecutor at Cambridge, his desire to have Friends sent through that Town, that he might order them to be whipt.

Tho. Newhouse whipt through Boston Jurisdiction, For testifying in their Meeting house, And giving a sign that they should be dasht in pieces.

Piscat. River.

Jos. Nicholson.
John Liddal,
abused.

† This is that *Bryan Pembleton* mentioned in the latter end of this Treatise. Ordered to be whipt.

The Constable refuses to find Yokes.

Set at liberty.

At another time, *Thomas Newhouse*, *John Liddal*, *Edward Wharton*,

T. Newhouse
John Liddal,
Ed. Wharton,
An. Coleman,
imprisoned at
Dover.

(114)

Wharton, Jane Millard, and Ann Coleman, on a first day of the week, coming to your Worship-house in Dover, were by the said Waldens command, (of whom I have formerly spoken) haled to Prison, where after he had caused them to be detained almost two weeks, though he confessed, That for ought he knew, they might be such as were spoken of in the 11th. of the Hebrews; yet he must execute the Law against them, and to set them at liberty. The People promised that the Priest Rayner should give them a fair reasoning, when his Worship was done; but he broke their word, and packt away; and though the Women followed him to his house, yet he would not turn, but clapt to his door, having taken out the Key, and turned Ann Coleman out of the house.

Priest Rayner

Hampton.

After this the aforesaid passed to Hampton, and being met together with Friends in the fear of the Lord to wait upon him, the Constable with a rude company came and pulled down some of the house, and then dragged them out one by one as they were at Prayer; and having kept them Prisoners a while, set them at liberty.

Imprisoned
there, and set
at liberty.

Salem.

Ed. Wharton,
Geo. Preston,
W. Christison
Come to Bos-
ton, are at a
Meeting there.

These things being done, and they having visited the Friends of Truth in those parts; they return to Salem, where Edward Wharton having stayed a while, and having been a while at Rhoad Island, about his outward occasions, he and George Preston, and Wenlock Christison, came from thence to Boston, where they had a good meeting of Friends, wherein the living Power of God was felt, and the overcoming presence of the sweetness of his pure love, and the life of him in their Tents, which made their hearts glad, and their Souls truly to rejoyce in the God of their Salvation, unto whose pure and most blessed Name they gave the glory for ever.

The Meeting being as aforesaid, and the life and truth, in the Power of the living God, being then declared, the Spirit of the Lord moved in the deep of many dark hearts then; at which Hell was moved, and the Prince of the power of Darkness was disturbed, and his Servants were much tormented; and Edward Rawson (of whom I have often spoken for his cruelty and blood) was principal of them, whose profession and practice hath often been dyed in the blood of the Innocent) be-
stirred

stirred himself exceedingly, & like a man distracted walked to & fro, from *one* Window of the house to the *other*, chafing and fretting, as he saw many People standing without, to hear the words of *Taith* declared, chiding some in his madness, and threatening others; which few seemed to regard, which caused him to issue forth a wicked confused Warrant, according to the form hereafter exprest.

Rawson dis-
turbs the
Meeting.

To the Constable of *Boston*.

YOU are hereby required in his Majesties Name, forthwith to repair to Edw. Wantons house, where a stranger, and a Quaker, with several others there, the said stranger publicly amongst many, endeavouring to seduce his Majesties good Subjects (and what good Subjects are ye to rebel against him?) and people to his cursed Opinions, (who seduces them into Rebellion against him, in refusing to observe the Authority of his Commissioners) by his Preaching amongst them; You are to carry the said strangers before the Honoured Governour, to be proceeded with, as the Law directs, and return the Names of such as are their Hearers.

Issues out his
Warrant.

Dated at *Boston*, the
4th. of May, 1664.

Per Edward Rawson,
Commissioner.

With the Warrant aforesaid, the Constable Duer came to the house where the Meeting was, but it was ended, and the stranger was gone, before the man of his strength came; so the Constable, with two unreasonable men more, searched for him at *Nicholas Upshals*, finding him not at the other house, where meeting with *Edward Wharton*, but missing the stranger, they questioned Edward, whether he was one that spake at the Quakers Meeting? He demanded of them, what they had to do to examine him? We have a Warrant, (said they.)

Apprehends
Ed. Wharton.

Let me see it, (said he.) My name is not in it, said Edward, when he saw it. You shall go before the Governour (said the Constable) notwithstanding; Edward refused to go without a Warrant. The Constable threwed his black Staff, and said, Here is my Warrant. And so like unreasonable men they dragged him out of the house, and led him away to the Governours, where Rawson was with your Governour, they both waiting to see when any prey would be brought into their Teeth, by their Wolvish Hunters; before whom Edward standing with his Hat on, Rawson asked him, Whether he knew before whom he was? Edward answered, He was before him, who was called the Governour. Your Governour commands his Hat to be pulled off; the Constable took it off, and put it in Edwards hand. Edward put it on his head again. Your Governour in great rage commanded the Constable to take it off again (What adoe here is about a poor Hat, the simple covering of a mans head, which turns all wisdom out of doors, and Government amongst you?) and to throw it into the fire, and burn it. I believe (said Edward), that when our Friends are brought before the King with their Hats on, he would not be so uncivil as to command such a thing. And so informed your Governour of the bad and disorderly carriage of the Constable, and his Companions. Your Governour asked, Why he did not prosecute them? Edward answered, Thou knowst we are not such a People; and desired to know what they had against him? Rawson charged him for coming from Salem to Boston (a great offence sure, as I may speak by the way of contraries, for an Inhabitant of a Colony, and a Tradesman, and Housekeeper, to travel about his lawful occasions) to the Quakers Meeting. Edward answered, He came not then from Salem. From whence came ye then? said Rawson. From the Westward, replied Edward. What did ye there? said Rawson. What hast thou to do. (replied Edward) to demand of me what I do in another Jurisdiction? I have been about my occasions. Your Secretary asked your Governour, Whether he would accept of this answer? No said your Governour. (See how the Governour and Secretary hitch together to cause the Innocent to suffer.) Then Rawson began to raise false accusations against him,

Brings him before the Governour.

him, and to charge *him* with going about the Countrey to deceive People, (see *your* account of the *Declaration* of the *Gospel of Peace*) and that *he* and others had been at *Milcome*, and had done much hurt there (which *Milcome* is a place at which *Rowsons* Son was an oppressive † Priest (and see how the *Father* manageth the *Sons* (Priest *Tories*) quarrel, and what partiality and injustice is here? Indeed I scarce reckon it, because *your* whole course is nothing else but one intire piece of *injustice* and *crudelty*.) And after *he* had flouted, and thrown out *his* dirt and filth at *Truth*, and the *Friends* thereof, *Rawson* said, That if *he* gave no better account of *his* business; (And what better account would *he* have of a man who had as much reason and justice to be in *Boston* as *himself*, being a *Housekeeper* in *your* Jurisdiction, and being charged with nothing as an offence by *your* own Law as done by *him*?) *He* should suffer as a *Vagabond*. Replied *Edward*, I desire the life of a *Vagabond*, and that Law is a wicked Law, and very wicked and unrighteous men are they that cause those that fear the Lord to suffer by such a wicked Law. So *Rawson* drew *his* Sentence, which is as followeth.

Sentences him to be whipt as a Vagabond.

† Samuel Tory, who promised the people at *Milcome*, at his first coming, to labour with his hands, to ease their provision for his maintenance, but instead thereof, took away the Quakers (one *Hen. Tucker's*) *Cordwood*, without giving notice, and sold it at *Boston*, to buy *Glass* for his new house; that the people built for him; and his Wife got *George Badcock's* Cow to make up the number of hers for her Dairy. A right Tory indeed.

To the Constable of *Boston*, or his Deputy, and of *Lyn*, and his Deputy. Copy of the Warrant.

YOU are hereby required, in his Majesties Name, (which serves you as an honest Mans hand doth a Cheats to counterfeit withal, for when you please, the Kings Authority is of no validity) to commit the Body of *Edw. Wharton* to safe custody till the next morning, and then to take him out of Prison, and cause him to be tyed to a Carts tayl, and whipt through this Town, and delivered to the Constable of *Lyn*, to be alike whipped, and by

by him to be carried to Salem, the place of his aboad, (tis well there was not a *third* Town in your way, to fulfil your Law; which yet how can ye make him to have transgressed?) from whence as a *Vagabond*, and a *Vagabond* (what madness is here, to render a man a *Vagabond*, who is an *Inhabitant*! hath the Earth ever heard of such things as these?) he hath strayed, and refused to give a satisfactory answer for such his *Vagrant* life; (and yet refuse to give a satisfactory Answer: can a *Vagrant* life give an Answer that is satisfactory?) whereof you are not to fail.

Dated the 4th. day
of May. 1664.

John Endicot.

Edwards re-
ply to the ten-
der of liberty.

Warns them of
Judgement.

Notwithstanding after he had wrote this, he told Edward, That if he would promise the Governour to come no more to the *Quakers* Meeting in Boston, then it was likely the Governour would let him have his liberty. Not for all the World, (replyed Edward) And Friends, (said he) I have a back to lend to thy smiter, and I have felt your cruel whippings before now, and the Lord hath made me able to bear them; and as I abide in his fear, I need not fear what you shall be suffered to do unto me. But surely the Lord will visit you for the blood of the Innocent, and your day is coming, as it is come upon many, who but yesterday were higher in power then ever you were, or are like to be, but now are made the lowest of many; and truly my Soul laments for you.

Is cruelly
whipt.

But none of these things prevailed, though they were words seasonable and tender; but as those that scorn all reproof, and set Counsel at nought; The Constable was commanded to deliver him to the *Taylor*; and the next morning a man with a Horse and a Cart came to the Prison door, and the Hangman with his Whip; and he being tyed fast to the Cart, he was cruelly whipt (his Back being naked almost a mile) through Boston Town; and his Hat kept off in honour to the Sentence,

(as

(as said *your Hangman*) some of *you* threatning him, That he should be so served every time he came to *Boston*. To which *Edward* replied, and I think I shall be here to morrow again. Then two lusty men being Assitants to the Executioner and Constable, he was brought to the next Town to be whipt, and set at liberty, (and all this but for being at *Boston*, he being a *Housekeeper* in the *Colony*.) What wickedness, what cruelty, what injustice is here? How do *you* deserve not a man of *you* to be suffered to breath upon the Earth? Should the *Law of Retaliation* be exercised upon *you*; should *you* be whipt from every place from whence *you* came, who whip after this manner, and so shew your selves destructive to Trade, and the being of men? How do *ye* know but that the *Lord* will requite *ye*, as *ye* have done, and double it upon *you*? And then how sad will be *your* portion, and what will be the lot of *your* Inheritance? And for ought *you* know, this or a worse Judgment may be *your* portion from the hand of the *Lord*. So *Edward* being at liberty, he went to his House at *Salem*, and made his way to *Boston* on the morrow, and looked some of *you* in the Face, as *Deputy Billingham*, &c. who as men guilty, turned the other way, which made him question with some of *you*, How it could be, that he should be a *Vagabond* yesterday, and none to day, to which he was answered, That if the *Lyn* be Judge, and he say the *Foxes long Ears be Horns*, it must go so, though it cost the *Fox* his life. The † *Constable* of *Lyn* being told who he was, and what might be the consequence of whipping him as a *Vagabond*, who was an *Inhabitant*, thought fit in his own safety to let *your* order go without execution.

So this matter hath an end, in which I have been the longer, and somewhat the more particular, because those proceedings were the most wicked and unreasonable, and to leave a Record of the faithfulness of a man who was given up to the *Lord* to serve his Will, whose Power sustained him through the midst of his Enemies.

Yet I have not done with *you*, but a reckoning I must make with *you*, for a high piece of cruelty exercised by *you*, on some

Edwards own Horse which he had to carry him in the Country, was led this while by the Cart, and yet a Va abroad, his Horse and other things he had then with him at *Boston*, being worth between twenty and thirty pound Sterling.

He comes to Town the next day.

† Samuel Burrell, the Constable of Lyn refuses to whip him.

Virginia:

M. Tomkins,
A. Ambrose.

*Their cruel
sufferings
there.*

30th. 4th. month, 1664.

Arrived at Boston.

Mary very sick.

*Ed. Wharton, Wenlock
Christifson comes to see
her, they are all had be-
fore the Deputy, &c.*

† *Duer was one of the
Constables, the other
dwelt at the end of the
Town, next Roxberry a
Shoemaker.*

*The cruelty of the Cor-
stable.*

All ordered to be whipt.

*The Women at the Towns
beyond.*

The Men through Boston.

*Colonel Temple inter-
ceeds.*

some of the Women mentioned before, in the relations of the first Sufferings at *Dover*, (*viz.*) *Mary Tomkins*, and *Alice Ambrose*, alias *Gary*. These two Servants of the Lord, having been at *Virginia*, whitherto they departed from *New England*, as aforesaid, in obedience to the Lord, and who had there suffered thirty two stripes apiece, with a nine corded Whip, three knots in each Cord; being drawn up to the Pillory in such an uncivil manner as is not fit to be rehearsed, with a running knot about their hands, the very first lash of which, drew the blood, and made it to run down in abundance from their Breasts; and having their Chests and Goods taken away, and so expelled those Coasts at your instigation; they

on the thirtieth day of the fourth month following, being in the year, 1664. came from thence into your Jurisdiction, and arrived at *Boston*; and one of them being very sick, near death, often dying away, (*viz.*) *Mary Tomkins*, and *Edward Wharton*, with *Wenlock Christifson* coming to see her from *Salem*; after they had been there a little time, in comes † two Constables, and in great rage and violence (notwithstanding that her weak condition) and forc't them all up to the Governours House; and though *Mary* fell down dead in the way, yet your cruel Constable (right blood suckers, and Adamantive Butchers) stood over her till she came to her self again, and so had her up before your Governour; and *Bellingham* your Deputy, and *Thomas Danfort* one of your Magistrates, who (because *Mary* was so weak, and left, probably, she might die under your hands; at least, that the out-cry of the People might not be too loud at your doors for such abominable cruelty) ordered she and *Alice* to be whipt, not at *Boston*, but at the Towns beyond; and *Wenlock* they ordered to be whipt through *Boston*, and so out of the Jurisdiction, and *Edward* through *Boston* home; and this your barbarousness had took hold on them, but that *Colonel Temple* came in and interceeded, and prevailed for three of them; but

but as for *Edward*, he being an *Inhabitant*, they said, *They would go another way to work with him*; so unless he would subscribe to four things, *Danfort* said, *He* should forthwith be tyed to a great Gun, and be severely whipt, with thirty stripes on his naked back; which *Edward* refusing to do, *Danfort* forthwith framed a Sentence, and got your Governours hand to it, of which what follows is a Copy, (and a cruel Sentence it is, as the Contents will manifest.)

None whipt
but Edwards

To the Constables of *Boston*, of *Charles Town*,
Malden, and *Lyn*.

A Copy of the
Warrant.

YOU are required to take into your custody, respectively *Edward Wharton*, convicted of being a *Vagabond*, (for but coming to visit his Friend that was near dead, from *Salem* to *Boston*; Oh! what cruelty is here? *Wherewithal* shall I have words to express your wickedness as 'tis?) from his own dwelling place; and the Constable of *Boston* is to whip him severely, (Oh what will be your condition, when the Judge of all shall turn you into everlasting punishment with the Devil and his Angels, who order a man thus severely, or with the highest cruelty to be whipt, for visiting his Friend that was so near the Grave, who said, *I was sick, and in Prison, and ye visited me not*) with thirty stripes on his naked Body; and from Constable to Constable you are required to convey him, until he come to *Salem*, the place where he saith he dwelleth, (and do not you know it? and hath he a dwelling place, and yet is he a *Vagabond*?) and in so doing, this shall be your Warrant.

Thirty stripes.

Dated at *Boston*, the 30th.
of the 4th. month, 1664.

JOHN ENDICOT.

Q

So

So *Thomas Danford* of *Cambridge* Magistrate, of his own head framed this false and cruel *Warrant*, got *Bellingham* to consent to it, and *John Endicott* to put his hand to it, but *Colonel Temple*, and your Governours Wife, being somewhat sensible of the hardness of the Sentence, and cruelty thereof, begged or sought *Edward* to subscribe to your four Propositions, which were, 1. To promise to come no more to a Quakers Meeting at Boston. 2. That when he come to Boston, he should signify it to the Governour, or the Deputy, forthwith, and his business. 3. To take the Oath of Fidelity. 4. To give twenty pound Bond for the good behaviour. Nay, said *Edward*, I dare not do it; but O, said he, thou wicked man of Cambridge, What have I done? or what Law have I broken, that thou hast writ me such a Sentence?

Away, away with him, said *Danford*, execute your Order speedily; so away they led him to the Market-place, and there bound his Arms fast through the Wheel of a great Gun, and very cruelly whipped him with thirty stripes as aforesaid, after such a cruel manner, as that it was testified, That *Pease* might lie in the holes that the knots of the Whip had beat into the flesh of his Arms and Back; And his Body was swelled, and very black from the Waste upwards. A very lamentable and sad spectacle, and such a piece of barbarous cruelty, as a man hardly shall hear of, from persons professing Religion, and flying to a Countrey for liberty of Conscience, to a man of their own Countrey, that had lived above 20 years amongst them, and one well known to them all, and by the Governour acknowledged to be his Friend, when he supplied him with necessaries at his need, saying then, That he would, if ever it lay in his power, requite him; which now he did; that was a Trades-man, and a Housekeeper near them, onely because he came to visit his almost lifeless Friend; What shall I say? or wherein shall I seek to bespeak your wickedness? Indeed all things together considered, it is beyond a President, as it cannot be expressed; but this is the fruit of an adulterated Profession, under the vizard of Zeal, wherein Civil Power, and Ecclesiastical Churchship have their union to destroy the Innocent.

And so having reduced him into a most gally plight, through the

+ John Loel
Constable attended the Execution, & put it on, telling the Hangman, He must do it severely.

The cruelty of the execution. A view of Civil Policy, and Ecclesiastical Churchship, sink together.

the extremity of cruelty, *he* was led not the direct way to *Salem*, but by the way of *Charles Town*, and so about the Countrey, as if *they* had a mind to make a show of *him*, to dread the Countrey by *your* cruelty.

This is John Endicot, and this is Richard Bellingham, and this is Thomas Danfort, your Governour, Deputy Governour, and one of your Magistrates of your wretched and bloody Government of the Massachusetts; and these are the fruits of your Religion, which is founded in blood, and perpetrated in cruelty; the very off-spring of darkness, the source of the bottomless Pit, the unnaturalness of degenerated man, the unplacability of the Devil, the detestation of good men, the abhorring of all who have any true sence of God, of Man, of Mercy, of Compassion lodging in them, whom God will meet with, and who will render unto you according to your deeds.

Thus was this Innocent Servant of the Lord beaten from amongst you at Boston, by force of the most savage cruelty; but from the compassion of the Lord, he was not, who was near him, and supported him, who never faileth those who put their trust in him; nor from the compassion of men, for instead of affrighting the Countrey with this your horrible cruelty, tenderness sprang in many to him, and the Truth got advantage, and the very Constable of Charles Town was so compassionate, that he entertained him into his house all night, and anointed his stripes; and so the next day he was conveyed to his home.

But as for *John Endicot*, your murderous cruel and unmerciful Governour; no more of bloody Battels fought he with the people of the Lord, but as if *this* were the complement of his miserable Tragedy, or the height of all that which he travelled withal, during the dayes of his Government, which should consume or compleat his wickedness, or fill up the measure of his iniquity, rapine, cruelty, and blood, and that which should sum up all, the end of his dayes, and the measure of his iniquity, he dyed not long after, the hand of the Lord struck him off, he stunk alive, and his name doth rot, and for his works he knows his reward from the Hand of the Lord.

*John Endicot
fights no more
bloody Battels*

*He stinks a-
live, and dies.*

Now because the man was one who formerly had some ten-

An account of
John Endicott,
in a Letter
wrote, and de-
livered to him
in his life-
time, by his
sometimes
Neighbour and
Friend in Sa-
lem, John
Smith.

derness in him, who so far degenerated into hardness and cru-
elty, as to give Sentence of death upon five of the Servants
of the Lord, four of which were executed barely for their Con-
science to God, and onely for being such as are called Qua-
kers; and coming into your Jurisdiction; besides the cruel
Whippings and Imprisonments, selling for Bond-men, and Bond-
women, cutting off Ears, Fines, and Burnings in the Body,
which have filled the Contents of two Treatises hitherto, and
which cannot be too sufficiently expressed; which is the worlds
wonder, and the astonishment of all that are men of any inge-
nuity and tenderness. I shall give some little account to the
World of what he was, as to these things in the Copy of a Let-
ter, which was given into his hand during his life time; in
the year, 1660. from a neighbour of his of Salem, upon the
occasion of his cruelty to his said neighbours Wife, who came
to be convinced of the Truth, by the cruelty to her, which is
as followeth.

The Copy of
the Letter
which serves
for his wind-
ing-sheet.

O Governour, Governour, do not think that my love to my
Wife is at all abated, because I sit still silent, and do not
seek her releasement and freedom, which if I did, would not a-
vail, its like, because your cruelty doth so much abound unjust-
ly and unrighteously towards her, as hath been seen all along; as
at the first, in taking her up for nothing but being in company
with others, committing her to the Prison, where she was wet from
the head to the feet, with the extremity of rain, keeping her close
Prisoner, wet as she was, until night; a most cruel Act, she
being but a sickly woman formerly, that such atting, its like,
might have put an end to her dayes; which is that many would
have done now its like, as doth appear, since by your practises to-
wards her, increasing your cruelties to a higher measure, and then
sending for her before the Governour, and nothing justly laid to
her charge as evil, yet committed to the Prison again, where she
was kept a month and odd dayes, then calling her before the Court;
upon examination of her, there being nothing justly laid to her
charge, yet to fulfil your wills, it was determined, That she must
have ten stripes in the open market-place, it being very cold, the
Snow lying by the Walls, and the Wind blowing cold, which she
Whipper

Whipper (like an inhumane Brute) for haste tore part of her cloaths, the standers-by bidding him do it, in my hearing; so with much violence he laid it on, without pity or mercy; so after we came home to Salem the next day where I was, it was reported in my hearing, the man not knowing that she was my Wife which reported it, said, That when her Cloaths were on, she took one of the Prisoners about the neck, and kissed him before the multitude. To which I answered to him, It was false, it was not true, for I was an eye witness to her the time he was there, and went away with her; it's like she might take him by the hand; so many false reports, lies, and slanders are cast upon her, and others, which I know of my own knowledge to be false, and yet believed by many which envy at them. And now another cruel act, the like was never heard of in New England, even keeping her close Prisoner in Salem, not suffering her to come home to her House; my Children left to the wide World, to them that would shew mercy to them in the extremity of the cold Winter season, and so haling her to the Prison the next day, it being snowy wet weather, not fit for a Woman to travel in, putting her into the Prison again, all wet with the cold Snow, (a most cruel thing) and here keep her in the Winter season, not regarding her if she had been frozen to death, receiving many lies, and false reports, believing them for truth, from the mouths of them that use to report lies, whose employment have been taken up withal, which might be better employed then to carry lies against the Innocent, to shed blood causeless; as of one I am informed, that Mordecay Crebatts Wife brought to thee, who being in Prison, said, That she saw my Wife take William Ling, or John Chamberlain about the Neck at the Prison door, or thereabouts. Which is a false report, in the reporting of it, because she reported it of the one to thee, and of the other in Salem. These evil reports, lies, and slanders reproachfully cast upon her unjustly, God in his due time will clear and recompence into their Bosoms, seven fold in every man as his work is, for which I must declare against, because I see the love of God shine forth more and more, and her faithfulness to the Lord is seen and tryed, and her faithfulness to me do I own, though many false reports have been cast upon her unjustly, as though she was light and uncivil in her conversation with;

with other men, which thing I am sure she doth abhor the practice of, both in her self, and all others, which is reported through envy and malice, which I believe faithfully to be; my love is much more increased to her, because I see your cruelty so much enlarged to her, which cruelty proceeds not from a Spirit of Love, but from a Spirit of Envy and Hatred, yea, from the evil root of unbelief, of which the Apostle speaketh, for there was never such cruelty did proceed from them, but the contrary, the Spirit of Love, and meekness, and tenderness, gentleness, yea love to all men, as the Apostle John speaks, which Apostle concluding this, That he that dwells not in Love, dwells not in God, for God is Love, and he that dwelleth not in Love, hath not the Love of God abiding in him; and if he love not his Brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?

Oh my Spirit is grieved for thee, because that the love I did once see in thee, is departed from thee, and there remaineth in thee a Spirit of cruelty, of hard-heartedness to thy poor Neighbours, which thou hast formerly been much beholden to, and relieved by, in time of want, when thou hadst no bread to eat. Oh consider of these times, & forget them not, and of the love thou didst find among poor people in thy necessity, and how evil thou hast dealt and requited some of them now, and how thou didst walk and act contrary to what thou didst formerly profess; yea, I have heard thee say, That all the Armies on Earth cannot subdue one lust in man or woman; and now thou pronouncest Sentence of death upon some, because they cannot submit to your wills, nor worship as ye do; though the heart may be far from God, as you say, yet because they cannot joyn with you, you will put them to death by a Law, for which there is no examples in the Scriptures of Truth, which (you say) is your rule, that any of the People of God from Adams time to this day, did put any man or woman to death, because they would not worship God as they did, which I never read of in the Scriptures; but many examples in the Scriptures of those that were not the People of God that did take away their estates, and put them in Prison, and punished them by stripes oftentimes, and haled them before Rulers, as Christ gives Testimony they should do so; yea, whosoever killeth them, shall think that he doth God good service; many of them shall think so,
but

but not all, for Judas did not think so when he betrayed Christ; For some shall sin against the Light of Christ in them, as saith the Scriptures; yea, there is no example of any men fearing God, that did make and execute such Laws as are here in force in this Land, to take away mens Goods, to put in Prison, to Whip, to cut Ears, to put to Death those that would not worship God as they did; or where is it written, That they did Banish any for Conscience-sake? but of those that did not fear God, it is written of them, They did put most of the Prophets to death as Christ saith, Which of the Prophets have not your Fathers persecuted and put to death; Yea, and Christ suffered death, for it is written, The Jews had a Law, and by our Law he ought to die, because he maketh himself the Son of God. And likewise the Apostles suffered death most of them, of those who would have put them out of the Synagogue, which should say, That he was Christ; they had so agreed beforehand, or its like, if any did say that they did persecute, they would put him out of the Synagogue too, for its no great punishment that befalls him, for its written, they have a Law to put to death for Conscience-sake.

Oh therefore now consider in the fear of God from whence thou art fallen, and despise not the love of God, and grieve not the holy Spirit any longer; by which every one that believeth is sealed to the day of Redemption, and consider with thy self how thy life and conversation hath been in times past when thou livedst next to me, who being often at thy house to fetch home what was borrowed from me, I taking notice of many disorders in the Family, sitting up very late at nights, in much idleness, and wantonness, which hath been the occasion of much evil, thy Children being disobedient to their Parents, and living loosely in the time of their youth; thy Servants very vain, some of them very wicked, and filthy, and unclean in their lives and conversations secretly, as hath appeared openly, to the view of many, what evil hath been secretly committed by them, and how little it hath been reformed by thee, the Lord will be Witness against thee, and also thy oppression of the Poor; I am an eye and ear Witness to complaints made in this kind, which hath had many poor men to work for thee, one year after another, some never received any thing to this day, others but little, it may be some Apples, or that which did but little
good;

good ; and some asked it so often, its like, were ashamed to ask it any more, of which I am one that hath forborn, because I see nothing but words, no performances ; which cry of the poor, the Lords eye is open and attentive to, so the Scripture declares, which thou sayest is thy Rule : but now since thou comest to Bolton, and leftest Salem, thou art become much more proud, that the cause of the Poor is despised and contemned by thee ; and he that is proud, and scornful, and high-minded, is approved of by thee, because he putteth off the Hat, and honoureth thee, as thou callest, by bowing of the Body, and saith, Worshipful Sir ; This is pleasing to the flesh in thee, but plainness of Speech in Words and Actions, which the Scripture commends, and commands that we should be without dissimulation, that thou sayest is unmannerly and intumesc, like bruit Beasts ; yea, it hath been declared here in Salem Pulpit, That [Thou and Thee, Yea and Nay] is the Devils Sacrifice ; The Scripture Language spoken of all along from Adams time, spoken by all the Holy Prophets, and Christ, and his Apostles, and to this day the common Language among other Nations ; now called the Devils Sacrifice, is disowning the Scriptures for a Rule of Life to be guided by, which in words ye own to be your Rule, but in practice ye deny it, as it doth appear by your lives and conversations, which strive so much for honour more then to reform the crying sins of the times, which cries continually in the ears of the Lord for vengeance to come upon you, but rather tolerate, as shedding of Innocent blood, the cry in the Taverns, abusing the Creatures of God in drunkenness, in gluttony, excess, singing and roaring out with a loud voice in the times of your publick Worship, on the Lecture dayes ; and pride, uncleanness, filthiness, prophaneity, idleness in words and actions, in their common discourse, to the grief of the Spirit of God in any where it is ; and covetousness, which is idolatry, and extortion, hard-heartedness, which proceeds all from unbelief, these sins not so much looked after, as those honest People which you call scornfully a cursed Sect of Quakers, which some here in Salem have made it part of their Sabbath day work, to hunt up and down from house to house, glorying and rejoycing in the same, to disturb them, who are met peaceably and quietly to wait upon God in his own way, held forth in the Scriptures, by the Apostles and Servants of Jesus Christ, which

which God commanded should not be, for on the seventh day God rested from all his Works; it is said, and God never commanded any to break this Rest, by hunting up and down after the Servants of God, to take away their lives by a cruel death, those that do you no harm, neither in thought, word, or deed, that doth unto all men, as they would have all men do unto them, that is in their measure; yet this alet alone, and upheld by a Law contrary to the Law of God, or the Law of Love, which is one, though they break the Rest which God commanded to be kept.

Oh consider of these things before the Judgements of the Lord come upon thee, and before 't be too late, for of a truth it will come in the Lord's time, and will not tarry, and nothing can keep them from thee, but Repentance, and forsaking thy evil way, turning to him with all thy Heart, with all thy Mind, and all thy Soul, and repelling of those unrighteous Laws which yet remains in the Countrey, and not to make more, as was petitioned for this Court of Election, [That no Man or Woman should bring any thing to the Prisoners, or carry any thing from them, upon the Fine of twenty pounds] which was granted by some of you, to the value of five pounds for the first time, and ten pounds for the second; and whether to encrease more, I know not. A cruel Law as ever I heard of, what to stirve them to death? worse then to hang them by, and bynde of the way; which doth plainly appear that you would have starved them to death, for which God in his time will call you to account; and happy is every one that hath no hand in these cruel Laws, made and executed upon many unto death in self, upon three of them, and Whippings, and Imprisonments above measure, which makes many to fall off from you, though your cruelty doth on others, and I think will joyne no more with you, known by the name of John Smith, thy next neighbour in time past, and thou servicable to thee in many things, and it is the somewhat belated by thee; but now it is otherwise, as it appears by thy hard dealing in my beloved wife. This I am constrained to write, as I have in love and tender love, and I am John Smith.

A Copy of this was delivered to the Governour, in some short time after the death of Mary Dyer, which was put to death by the Court of Sessions at Boston; 1660.

Margaret
Smith his
Wife, and Ma-
ry Trask's
Letter to
John Endicott,
which stands
as his Tomb-
stone.

Now because I have made mention of the said *John Smith*, and his Letter to your Governour, which may serve as a winding-sheet for him, to whom it was delivered (as I said) in his life time; I shall give the Copy of one Letter more, written by his Wife, and *Mary Trask*, (a sore sufferer by you, mentioned in the former Treatise) the one and twentieth of the tenth month, 1660. to your Governour and you, which I should not have inserted, but that it contains a Warning to you of the Judgement that is coming upon you. As it is all so an account of the harmless and innocent Spirit that lodged in them, which is in the words following.

The Copy of
the Letter.

TO thee *John Endicott*, and the rest of the Rulers of this Jurisdiction, who are given up to fight against the Lord, and his Truth in this day, wherein it is springing forth, and by the comeliness of it, hath the Lord our God constrained us to take up the Cross and follow him, through great tryals and sufferings, as to the outward; and herein we can rejoyce that we are accounted worthy, and called thereunto to bear a Testimony against a cruel and hard-hearted people, who are slighting the day of their Visitation, and foolishly requiting the Lord for his goodness, and shamefully intreating his hidden Ones whom he hath sent amongst you, to call you from the evil of your ways, that ye might come with them to partake of his love, and feel his life and power in your own hearts, that with us ye might have been brought to be subject to the higher Power, *Christ Jesus*, whom you should have been obedient unto; and bearkened to his Judgements, whilst he stood at the door and knocked, (for he will not alwayes strive with man) and then it should have been well with you, but seeing you are gone from this that leadeth into tenderness, love, and meekness, and so do unto all as you would be done unto; therefore ye are given up to a Spirit of error, and hardness of heart, and blindness of mind, the eye of your minds being blinded by the God of this world, so that you cannot see our life, which is hid with *Christ* in God, who is become our Light and Life, and hope of Glory, and our exceeding great reward, in whom we do rejoyce. Flee surely the God of *Jacob* is with us; what ever you may be able to say against us; for behold the Lord our God is rising as a mighty terrible one, to plead the cause of his People, and

to clear the cause of the Innocent ; but surely he will in no wise acquit the guilty, who have shed the blood of the Innocent, and you shall assuredly feel his judgements, who have wilfully put forth your hands against his Chosen ; ye have cut off the Righteous from amongst you, and are still taking counsel against the Lord to proceed against more of his People ; but this know, the Lord our God will confound your Counsel, and lay your glory in the dust ; unto whom will ye fly for help ? and whither will ye go to hide your selves ? for verily the Lord will strip off all your coverings ; for ye are not covered with the Spirit of the Lord, therefore the woe is gone out against you ; for your place of defence is a refuge of lies, and under falsehood ye have hid your selves. Wo, wo unto you, for you have forsaken the Lord, the Fountain of living Waters, and are greedily swallowing the polluted Waters, that come through the stinking Channel of your hireling Masters, unclean spirits, whom Christ cries wo against, and who cannot cease from sin, having hearts exercised with covetous practises. Wo unto them, saith the Scripture, for they have run greedily after the error of Balaam, who loved the wages of unrighteousness, and are seeking enchantments against the Seed of Jacob ; their divinations against Israel the Lord will confound, and all your wicked Counsel bring to nought. Wo unto you that decree unrighteous decrees, and write grievousness, which you have prescribed, to turn away the poor and needy from their right ; have you not sold your selves to work wickedness, and are strengthening your selves in your abominations, till the measure of your iniquity be full ? surely the overflowing Scourge will pass over you, and sweep away your refuge of lies, and your covenant with Hell shall be disannulled. For lo, destruction and misery is in your way, and the way of peace you do not know ; for you are gone from the good old way, after your own way, therefore the way of Holiness is hid from your eyes. Oh that ye had owned the day of your Visitation before it had been too late, and had hearkened to the voice of his Servants, whom he sent unto you again and again, in love and tenderness to your Souls ; but ye would not hearken to the Lord when he called, therefore when ye cry and call he will not hear you ; although you may call unto him, yet he will not answer ; he will laugh at your

calamity when it cometh, for you have set at nought all his Coun-
 sel, and have chosen rather to walk in your own Counsel; But
 this know, that if ye had hearkened to the Counsel of the Lord,
 the Light, which is now your Condemnation, and had waited there
 to know his Will, then you should have known it, and then these
 wicked Laws had never been made, nor prosecuted by you, which
 you have made in your own wills, contrary to the Law of God,
 which is pure, and leadeth all that yeeld obedience to it; into
 purity and holiness of Life; and for our obedience to this Law,
 which the Lord hath written in our Hearts, we are hated and per-
 secuted by you, who are in Cains Nature, murdering the Just;
 yea surely the Cause is the Lords, for which we have suffered all
 this time, and the Battel is the Lords, and he will arise and stand
 up for them that faithfully bear forth their Testimony to the end;
 And ye shall be as braken Vessels before him, which cannot be
 joynd together again; therefore fear and tremble before the Lord,
 who is coming upon you as a Thief in the Night, from whom ye
 shall not be able to hide your selves, and will reward you according
 to your works, whose judgements are just; and he is risen to
 plead with the unjust Rulers, Priests and People, who are joynd
 together in a profession of Godliness, and of glorying in it, but
 denying the power thereof in them where it appears; But your glo-
 rying will be turned into shame and confusion of face, and your
 beauty will be as the fading flower, which suddenly withereth away;
 and this you shall find to be true, in the day when the Lord will ac-
 complish it upon you. And we have written to clear our Consci-
 ences, and if ye account us your enemies for speaking the Truth, and
 heat the Furnace of our affliction hotter, yet know we shall not fall
 down and worship your wills, neither esteem all the dumb Idols after
 which you are led, of no other use, but to be thrown aside to the
 Moles and the Bats; for what are the shadows, if it were of
 good things to come, to the substance? and that which seemed glo-
 rious, hath no glory, in respect of that which excelleth. And all
 the sufferings that we have endured from you, for Christ, have
 not at all mar'd his visage to us, but we still see more beauty in
 him.

Well knowing, that as they did unto him, so they do unto us; and now they are come to pass, we remember that he said these things.

From your House of Correction, where we have been unjustly restrained from our Children and Habitations; one of us above 10. months, and the other about 8. and where we are yet continued by you Oppressors that know no shame.
Boston, 21. of the 10th. month, 1660.

Mary Trask.

Margaret Smith.

Thus much concerning John Endicor, and the cruelties exercised by him, who though he is dead, yet they speak, and will whilst Age and Generation last, and time is no more, be as a Tombstone for him; for which cause I am moved of the Lord to set them down, and to leave them on his and your heads for ever and ever.

I shall now give one instance or two more of your bloody work at Boston, and some few examples of the Judgements of God upon some of you, and some strange passages that have proceeded out of some of your mouths, not hitherto touched; and then I shall end this second part of the Relation of your barbarous and inhumane cruelties exercised to those people.

One instance or two more of sufferings, and some examples of Judgments, and other notable passages.

The first shall be of Wenlock Christison, who sometimes after your new Law for Whipping, &c. with † others of the People called Quakers, coming to Boston, were apprehended and brought before you to be tryed according to your Law; Your Deputy Bellingham said, He should be whipt. Wenlock demanded, For what? Your Deputy said, Because he was a Vagabond. Then replied Wenlock, Cain was a Vagabond, he slew his Brother, yet he was great in the earth, and built a City; And said Wenlock, What is a Vagabond, as saith your Law? One of Cains stock answered, Such as have no certain dwelling place. How do you know (said Wenlock) that I have no certain dwelling place? It was answered, You have none amongst

W. Christison
M. Tomkins,
A. Ambrose.
Boston.
Passages before
Deputy Bellingham.

us. Are all Vagabonds, replied Wenlock, that have no dwelling place among you? If it be so, then go and whip out the Kings Commissioners from among you, for they came out of England since I did; they do hire Rooms, and carry the Keys in their Pockets, and so can I; And he said, I have money in my Pocket, and Cloaths to wear, and a Beast to ride on, And what is a Vagabond, saith your Law? At this Bar (said he) time was, that Sentence of Death was passed on me, yet by the help of God, I continue unto this day, standing over the heads of you all, bearing a faithful Witness for the Truth of the living God; Some of your Associates are gone, and the Lord hath laid their glory in the dust, and yours is a fading flower. Then to Prison you ordered him and his Friends, and continued them till next day, on which they were brought before your Judgement Seat, contrary to the Laws of England, and the Kings Order, which he sent among you, which was for liberty of Conscience, therefore Wenlock appealed to the Laws of England; This you denied him. I will appeal to the Kings Commissioners, said Wenlock, You denied this also, saying, That you were Commissioners, and more then Commissioners: See to what a height of Rebellion you are grown, who sacrifice the blood of the Innocent, because to your Laws, for Conscience, they could not be obedient; you will come to have your reward at last, and it waiteth for you, it is the Word of the Lord. Then said Wenlock, Do you own these men whom the King hath sent among you? We will let that alone now, replied some of you. And another said, If thou hadst been hang'd it had been well. You had not power, replied Wenlock, to take away my life from me; but my blood is upon you, for you murdered me in your hearts. So Wenlock, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, were stripped to the Waste, and made fast to the Cart, and whipt through Boston, Roxberry, and Denham; Wenlock had ten cruel stripes in each Town, and the other two, his Companions, six a piece; and after these stripes and hard usages, like unmerciful men, you drove them into the Wilderness; but the Lord was with them, and the Angel of his presence saved them, who had none in Heaven besides God, nor none in earth in comparison of him. Let the living sing Glory in the highest, saith

He stands over them in point of his life and tells them of the cutting off some of their Associates, and prophecies of them.

He is committed.

He appeals to the Laws of England, he is denied.

He appeals to the Kings Commissioners Is denied also.

He pleads with them.

One sorry they had not hang'd him.

All three Sentenced to be whipt through three Towns. Wenlock ten stripes.

Each of the Women six.

saith *Wenlock Christison*. The next is *Edward Wharton*, who in the third month of the year, 1665. coming from *Salem* to *Boston* about his occasions, met with old *Elizabeth Hooton*, and *Jane Nicholson*; and after two dayes, *Wenlock Christison*, *Mary Tomkins*, and *Alice Ambrose*, alias *Gary*, who all three came from *Rhode Island* with one of the *Kings Commissioners*, called *Sir Robert Carr*; and they being come to your bloody *Boston*, to get passage out of that Countrey, *Wenlock* for *Barbadoes*, and *Mary* and *Alice* for the *Burmudoes*; after they had been two or three dayes in your said *Boston*, some of you issued out a Warrant to two Constables, diligently to search the Town, and to find out the cursed (as you call them whom the Lord calls Blessed) *Quakers*, and forthwith to bring them before *Richard Bellingham*; So the Constables searched, and found *Edward Wharton*, *Wenlock Christison*, *Mary Tomkins*, *Alice Ambrose*, alias *Gary*, and *Hannah Wright*; and having promised them that they should not be abused, brought them before *Bellingham*, at his house, who commanded forthwith to have them to the Court-Hall; into which suddenly after came your Deputy *Bellingham*, and his Brethren; and as Friends were sitting in the Hall, *Bellingham* went to his prayers, which having ended, the aforesaid were called to the Bar, and accused with an irreverent gesture, as he was at his *Jezabel* prayers, as sitting, walking with their Hats on their Heads; And their Hats (the great offence of the wise men of this day) were commanded to be taken off and thrown on the ground; which being done, *Mary Tomkins* set her foot upon one of the Hats, and calling to you, said, See, I have your Honour under my feet. Whereupon you demanded of her, Where her Habitation was? She answered, My Habitation is in the Lord. But (said *Rawson*) where is your Being? In the Lord, replied *Mary*, I live, move, and have my being. So you Sentenced her, and *Wenlock*, and *Edward Wharton*, and *Alice*, to be whipt through three Towns out of your Jurisdiction. And for *Edward Wharton*, his Sentence was as followeth.

ad. mon. 1665
Ed. Wharton,
Eliz. Hooton,
J. Nicholson,
W. Christison
M. Tomkins,
A. Ambrose.

And Hannah
Wright,
brought before
Deputy Bel-
lingham, &c.

They bow not
to his prayers.
Their Hats
taken off.

And their honour trampled
upon in a Hat by *Mary*,
who trampled on one of
the Hats.

† *Ed. Wharton*, being had
before *John Endicott* in
his life time, and being
commanded by him to take
off his Hat, he took it in
his hand, and bolding it to
the people, said, Take no-
tice that the Governour
had kept him so long in his
hospital, that it had almost
spoiled the fashion of his
honour; which was by rea-
son of the smock that came
from the room underneath.

Edward

Copy of Edw.
Whartons
Sentence.

Edward Wharton, a known Quaker, being questioned what he came to Boston for? He said, He came about his business. And that he, with Wenlock Christison, stood with their Hats on their heads whilst the Deputy was at Prayer; And for saying, We have not unity with you in your Prayers, because we know that you are very wicked and unjust men, and therefore your Prayers are an abomination to the Lord. And further, the said Edward charged the said Deputy, saying, Richard, Thou throwest forth thy flood of false accusations, but thou provest nothing that thou chargest; and as for thy fears it shall come upon thee: You are to be whipped fifteen lashes, and committed to Prison a month.

He is whipped. So you set him to the great Gun, and whipped him, as aforesaid, and then committed him to Prison for a month; and although the Kings Commissioners (out of their tender regard to his innocent and cruel sufferings) said, They would have him out of Prison; but in you kept him till the month was expired. And as for Hannah Wright, one John Richbel, a Merchant came and requested her liberty out of your hands.

Han. Wright,
taken off by
John Richbel.
Han. Wrights
first coming to
the Courts be-
ing a Girl of
13, or 14 years
old, and warn-
ing them, as to
nisi't the
Court, & kept
it in silence,

This Hannah Wright, being a Girl of about 13, or 14 years old (whose sister Mary ye had banished before) came in the motion of the Lord, from Oyster Bay in Long Island, some hundreds of miles to Boston; and in your Court, being filled with the dread and Power of the Lord, Warned you in the Name of the Lord, Not to shed the blood of the Innocent any more; which so fell upon you and chained you down, that for a time ye were not able to speak a word, or open a mouth against her; till Edward Rawson being filled with the wicked one, said to this effect, What shall we be daunted by such a one as this? Come give us a cup of drink, or a dram of the Bottle; yet this ye went over, Children, People of years, Men, Women, Old and

Till Rawson
called for a
dram of the
Bottle.

Tourg,

Young, Infant of dayes, as it were; such as stoop for Age, Witnesses on every hand, your own Neighbours, Countrey-men, Strangers, early and late, again and again, for ten years together, Men, and their Wives, and Families; Men of dissolute conversation reclaimed, Word, Sign, Suffering, Constancy through all, not fearing your fears, nor being afraid of the threats; Husbands offering up Wives, Wives their Husbands; Parents their Children, Children their Parents; Servants their Masters, Masters their Servants; Bond, Free, laying down Life, Estate, and all. None of this will you hear, but have shut your Ear, hardened your Heart, closed your Eye, that wrath may come upon you to the uttermost.

A redargution with New England upon the whole.

So all these things, and much more which might have been written, have the Innocent suffered by you Antichristian Professors of New England, because they cannot forsake the way of the Lord, nor walk with you in the way of Cain, who slew his Brother; and so upon you is like to come the blood of all the Righteous Generation; but these horrible things have you done, to the incurring of the indignation of the Lord against your selves, to the eternal shame and reproach of your Religion, and to the violation of the Kings Promise, who promised us in the Word of a King, That none of us should suffer for our Religion; but in all the things that have been suffered, revenge is not sought, neither is a recompence looked from man therein, but they can be freely forgiven. Nevertheless in the moving of the Lord these things are written, that the Generations to come may see and know what a loud Profession may turn men unto, whose delight is to live in an out-side form, but out of the true sence of the Life and Power of God.

A close as to the sufferings.

A few words now concerning the notable Judgements of the Lord on one or two more of you, as a farther taste of your Spirits, or of what lodgeth in you, who thus have sought to devour and destroy the Innocent, and then I shall end.

A Relation of the dreadful Judgment of the Lord on M. G. Adderton.

Major General Adderton, who was the man that said unto Wenlock Christison, when he was tryed for his life, The Judgements of the Lord God are not come upon us yet. Upon a certain day this Adderton having been in his Pomp, exercising his

men of War, and riding on *his* Horse, after he had done *his* work, and about the evening was riding home to *his* House, about the place where *usually* they looted Friends from the Cart, after *they* had whipped *them* from Boston, A Cow (as is supposed) came and crossed the way, at which *his* Beast was thought to have been afrighted, which threw *him* so, that he (the man called *Adderton*) dyed, *his* Eyes being started out of *his* Head like Sawcers, *his* Brains out of *his* Nose, *his* Tongue out of *his* Mouth, and *his* Blood out of *his* Ears. Thus fared it with *him*, who tempting the Lord when he spake by *his* Servant, and Servants, of *his* Judgements that *they* were not come, came to know *them* suddenly, as the Word of the Lord was spoken to *him* in the Court by the said *Wenlock*, as aforesaid. And thus he who upon the Execution of *Mary Djar*, told our Friends, that *Mary Djar* hung as a Flag, (a most insulting and Heathenish expression) came to be turned over *himself*, and to be as a Flag of Warning, by *his* dreadful example, to all that dare to persecute and make sport at the shedding of *Innocent* blood, and the most cruel sufferings of the *Innocent*, and to tempt the Lord concerning *his* Judgements. So lie thou there, thou *Adderton*, as an Ensign for New Englands Blood-suckers; and so let all thine Enemies, O God, perish.

John Norton, your high Priest, that encouraged and set on the shedding the blood of the *Innocent*, who was instrumental in the shedding of the blood of four of the *Innocent* Servants of the Lord, and of condemning of a fifth unto death, who when you paused upon the execution of *William Robinson* and *Marmaduke Stevenson*, and forbore it a day, encouraged you thereunto, and to the rest of your cruel work, which is *his*, and will be your burthen in the day of the Lord; who when *William Brend* was so inhumanely beaten, *his* flesh into a Jelly, with a hundred and seventeen blows, with a great pitcht Rope, so that the Prison doors were set open, and Bills were set that the Jayler should be dealt with; Your Governours Chyrurgion coming in, and judging that *his* flesh would rot from *his* bones ere it could come to digest, and so kill him, said, If *William Brend* will endeavour to beat our Gospel Ordinances black
and

and blew, if he was beaten black and blew, it was just upon him, and he would appear upon his (that is the Jaylors) behalf. Whereupon there was no further enquiry, who was over in England, as afore said, as your Agent, and wrote that † *Scurrilous Book* against the Truth, who trinkled with the Arch Bishop, and brought over the Christian from him, because of which, and the effect of his Agency, many of your Members groaned, as by him being brought into bondage, this bloody Persecutor ended his dayes, and was cut off in a litle time, with a stroke that was too heavy for him, being at your Worship-houfe in the forepart of the day, and intended to go in the after, the Lord met with him, so that as he was walking in his House, he fetched a great groan, and leaning his head against the Mantle-tree of the Chimney, and being sensible of the just Judgements of God upon him, gave a signification thereof, saying, *The Hand, or the Judgements of the Lord is upon me*; he sunk down and spake no more, and if an old man had not been with him, he had fallen into the fire. The Lord is just who will not let the wicked go unpunished.

† The heart of
New Eng-
land rens.

Old Timothy Dalton Priest at Hampton, and his Brother Philemon, two inveterate enemies to Truth, were soon taken away, Philemon by the falling of a Tree on his Leg, which themselves thought the Quakers would take notice of; the other by another Visitation: he Priest called the Truth Blasphemy, when Wenlock Christison and Friends reasoned with him thereabouts.

On Timothy
Dalton, Priest
of his Brother
Philemon.

Now as to Passages.

Edward Wharton being with John Endicot your Governour, when he was Sentenced as a Vagabond, your Governour said, That every Soul ought to be subject to the higher Power. Edward demanded thereupon, Whether that which set up the golden Image, and required all to fall down and worship it, was the higher Power? He replied, Yea. And whether the Power that required Daniel to be cast into the Lyons Den, for praying to any besides the King, for thirty dayes, was the higher Power? He said, Yea. Edward demanded, Whether the three Children that were cast into the fiery Furnace, for not falling down and worshipping the Golden Image, did well? And whether Daniel

Passages of
Ed. Wharton
with John
Endicot.

for praying to his God, contrary to what he called the higher Power did command, to which he said, every Soul was to be subject, did well? He replied, Yea, also. Rawson standing by, and seeing how the Governour had contradicted himself, to help him out, said, They did obey the higher Power by Suffering. Edward replied, So do we.

Of Bryan
Pembleton,
with George
Walton, Alice
his Wife, Abi-
shag his
Daughter.

A question was put to Bryan Pembleton, one of your Magistrates, of whom mention is made before, *What anointing was that which the Apostle John exhorted the Saints unto in that day?* Pembleton answered, that John was either a Fool or a Mad-man, or else he did not know what he said. Then he was asked, *What was that Light which shone about Paul?* His answer was, It was the light of the Devil for ought he did know. His Shepherd the Priest was with him when he spoke these blasphemous words. What other then the rehearsed cruelties can be expected from such Blasphemers?

The Questions put to Bryan Pembleton, and the Priest, concerning the Anointing, &c. Were by Alice Walton, and her Husband George, and her Daughter Abishag, who being convinced of the Truth, this Magistrate and Priest came to their House, seeking to turn them therefrom, upon which these Questions arose; they lived on the great Island in Piscataqua, and this Alice was one of the most accounted of the Women for Profession in the Island, whom it troubled them to lose; but Truth took her, and overturned the Priest.

Of Mary
Tomkins with
Joshua Scot-
away.

One of your Magistrates asked one of our Friends in the Court at Boston, Where she dwelt? She answered, In God, for in him we live, in him we move, and have our being; said a Member of your Church, So doth every Dog and Cat. Here is one (said Wenlock) that speaks blasphemous words, whose name is Joshua Scotaway.

Of Priest Le-
veridge at
Huntington,
in Long Island
with George
Preston, Mary
Tomkins,
A. Ambrose.

Priest Leveridge having a Dispute at his House at Huntington, on Long Island, with George Preston, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, He denied that there was any Revelation in these dayes. George Preston demanded, From what then did he minister in himselfe, and to what? He answered, From the Spirit of the Lord, to the Souls of the People. And yet he denied Revelation. Mary and Alice demanded of him, What did

did he profit the People, seeing Revelation he denied? He answered, He thought as much as the *Quakers*, which he said, was nothing at all. *George, Alice, and Mary*, kneeled down in the Court of the Priests, house, and *Mary* prayed among the People. The Priest ran upon her, and pulled her down; his Sons being ashamed of his brutishness, pulled him off her. The Priests madness and folly was hereby made manifest to the People.

Thomas Danfort, a Magistrate of Cambridge, one whose cruelties were exceeding great to the Innocent, mentioned before: he laid his hand on *Wenlock Christifons* Shoulder, in your Governours house at Boston, and said to him, *Wenlock*, I am a mortal man, and die I must, and that ere long, and I must appear at the tribunal Seat of Christ, and must give an account for my deeds done in the body; and I believe it will be my greatest glory in that day, that I have given my Vote for thee to be soundly whipped at this time. Then said *Wenlock*, O wicked man, if thou hast nothing to glory in, in that day, but in drawing the blood of the Innocent, and laying stripes upon the Servants of the living God, thy glory will be turned into shame, and wo will be thy Portion.

Of Thomas
Danford with
W. Christifons

So fulfilling the Words of Christ, *The time shall come, that they that kill you, shall think they do God service.* And in this the Scripture is fulfilled, *He that is born after the Flesh, persecutes him that is born after the Spirit.* And the saying of Christ, *These things will they do unto you, because they know not the Father nor me.*

Some more of the Sufferings of Elizabeth Hooton.

BESIDES all the other grievances which have been spoken of concerning me, *Elizabeth Hooton*, in *New England*, which have been inflicted on me by the persecuting Magistrates and Ministers of that place, having been often Whipped, often Imprisoned, oft driven into the Wildernesse to be devoured of wild Beasts, or swallowed up of the deep Waters, where

I had many miles to go alone through Woods in the night, where no Inhabitant was, yet did the Lord by his power raise me up, that he gave me a back for the Whipper, and strength to go through all this, so that I went and was not weary, nor fainted in these hardships. Twice was I Whipt and Imprisoned at *Boston*, and twice also at *Cambridge* in *New England*, by the hands of blood-thirsty men, and four times was I whipt in other places; I was Imprisoned also at *Hampton* and *Dover*, where a wicked Constable came with a Warrant and fetch't away a poor old mans Heifer, (who had little to maintain him) for three pound five shillings fine imposed on him by a fine of five shillings a day for not hearing their Teacher, which was a horrible oppression, five times worse then the Bishops Law, which is but one shilling a day for not coming to hear their Common Prayer. I being present, asked him, *Who made that Warrant?* He said, The Treasurer, *Peter Coffin*. But he read it in his Majesties Name. I asked him, *Who was that Majesty?* He said, The King. Then said I, *In the Kings Name restore the poor man his Heifer, for he hath made no such Law.* But he would not; so I went to *Peter Coffin* the Treasurer, and I cleared my Conscience to him, and told him, *That he had done contrary to Gods Law, and the Kings Law, in taking away the poor mans Cow, for that the King had sent to them, That their Church-members should not make Laws by themselves, excluding others.* He told me, That he would take away more yet; But the Lord stopped him in that purpose. From him I went to *Richard Walden* the Magistrate, to whom I said, *Yesterday thou and thy Wife were at a Fast, and to day a poor mans Cow is taken away in his Majesties Name by a Warrant; I asked him, If he made that Warrant?* He said, No. I said, *Then make a Warrant to fetch her again.* But he answered, *If I had a Cow, he would fetch her.* I said, *It was contrary to Gods Law, and to the Kings Law.* Then said he, *Then it is the Devils Law.* I answered, *Then thou may take it home; as thou sayest it is the Devils Law, so say I, for thou hast said it.* Then I bid him repent and turn from those wicked Laws and wicked Actions, or else God would cut them off. From him I went back again to the Constable, and bad him

him restore the poor man his Cow again, for he did not as he would be done by. But he answered, If the *Magistrate* commanded him to take away the mans life he must do it. So you may see what Law these men act by in persecuting the Just, as *Walding* said himself, It is the Devils Law. So a company of blood-thirsty men they are, both Priests, and Magistrates, and Constables, and all in Authority by them, act all in cruelty; for not onely I, but many of our Friends have suffered deeply by them; and when they have been laying their cruel and bloody stripes on the backs of the Innocent, (who being sustained by the Power of God, and carried through their cruelty with so much patience and chearfulness, as not to flinch or cry out at their cutting and unmerciful strokes) some of their Persecutors have said, *The Devil was so got between the Skin and the Flesh, that they could not feel.* So brutish and savage, hard-hearted and cruel are ye, O Professors of *New England.*

From thence I returned again to *Boston*, and was moved of the Lord to go to their publick Meeting, and they abused me much whilst I stood there, though I spake nothing. But when the Priest had done, I asked him, *What was that Light he spake of, for his Text spake of the Light?* But he would not answer. But the rude multitude fell upon me, and threw me down; this was the fruits of their Worship. So I denied their Worship, and their Law, which shewed it self to be the Devils Law, as *Walden* had said. They haled me from thence to Prison, where they kept me close Prisoner two dayes and two nights, and gave me neither Bread nor Water; then they brought me to *Bellingham* the Deputy Governour, who said, That the next time I came, I should be hanged; and he gave out a Warrant to whip me from the Prison door to the Towns end, and so forth of their Jurisdiction. Then when I came again, they took away my Horse to carry the Kings Commissioners away out of Town, which was to me a great prejudice, for it might have cost me my life in a dangerous Journey I had to go without my Horse, with another Woman Friend which was big with Child.

Elix. Hooton.

Some

*Some more Sufferings of Thomas Newhouse,
amongst many which were forgotten by them
which gave in the rest.*

UPon a Lecture day at Boston in New England, I was much pressed in Spirit to go into their *Worship-house* amongst them, where I stood silent until the man had done Preaching, then my mouth was opened to the people with a word of Exhortation, but through the violence of some of the People, was haled to Prison, from whence about three hours after, they fetched me out to the Court, where I was examined, and so returned to Prison again until the morning, and into the Court I was brought again, where they had drawn up a Paper against me, as they thought of what I had said the day before; and they said, Come thou Vagabond, and hear this Paper read with two Witnesses, their hands to it, for we will handle thee; And I said, *Read on; where I stood until they had done;* And they asked me, Whether I owned it or no; And I said, *Yea every word, and would make it good by sound proof, if I might have liberty to speak,* But they cryed, away with him, and some took me by the Throat, and would not suffer me to answer to it, but hurried me down stairs to the Carriage of a great Gun which stood in the Market place, where I was stript, and tyed to the Wheel, and whipt with ten stripes, and then loosed, and tyed to the Carts tayl, and whipt with ten more to the Towns end; and at Roxberry at Carts tayl, with other ten; and at Dedham, at Carts tayl, with ten more; and then sent into the Woods.

And another time in my travels, I came to a Town called Medfield in New England, in *Bostons Jurisdiction*, and I could not get a Meeting, and it being the first day of the week, when the Priest had done, and the people came forth into the street where I was standing waiting upon the Lord, these words ran through me, *Oh Earth, Earth, Earth, hear the Word of the Lord*

Lord. With some more words, but my mouth was presently stopt with a mans hand; and several fore blows I received amongst them; and after that, they carried me back again to the Stocks, but they standing by the Worship-house, they would not let me sit in them there, but took them up upon their Shoulders, and carried them under a Hedge, and put me in them two hours, where I had good service for the Lord, and the next day I was whipt at *Dedham* at Carts tayl with ten stripes, and the day following at *Medfield* with ten stripes more, and sent away into the Woods.

Thomas Newhouse.

Post-script.

YOU that are called Magistrates in *New England*, whose Actions has been worse then the *Sodomites* against *Lot*, raging about his house in the night. But you *Spiritual Sodomites* have out-strip Temporal in your raging about the Children of Light, and the Justs Houses, and spoiling of Goods, cutting of Ears, Hanging, Burning in the Forehead, and cruel Whippings. You called Magistrates, are worse then the *Jews*, for you never read that they burned any of the Christians, and whipt, and hanged, and spoiled the goods of any, as you do; but you are like unto *Pharaoh*: and the more you oppresse, the more they spread; and you walk in the steps of *Cain*, and gain-saying *Core*, who persecuted the People of God, *Ahab* and *Jezabel*-like. And like the Heathen *Romans*, that persecuted the Christians, and put them to death, while they were a weary. And you shewed your Spirit, who ran away from *England*, and could not abide the sufferings of your Purse, and a Prison, and when you were

T

got

got beyond Sea, then you could Hang, and Burn, and Whip God's Creatures, and the true Subjects of *England*; yet you would have the name of Christians, who have cast away all Humanity and Christianity, by your fury, rage, and *Nebuchadnezzars* spirit; who are worse then the very *Indians*, whose name stinks both among *Indians* and *Christians*, which is become a Proverb and a common Cry, The bloody Crimes of *New England*, a company of rotten Hypocrites which fled from *Old England* to save their Purfes and themselves from Imprisonment, and then can Hang, and Burn, and Whip, and spoil the Goods of such as come out of *England* to inhabit among them, onely for being called *Quakers*. How have you Magistrates and Priests enriched your selves by the spoil and oppression of the poor People which fear God? Have not you manifested your selves to be the Beast, and the Whore, by your Merchandize of peoples Goods, and spoiling them, and putting them to death because they would not receive the Beasts Mark in their Fore-head, nor their hand, and because they cannot buy nor sell with you? Oh the blood of the Innocent cries for Vengeance against you; and the Goods and spoil of the Innocent, is it not in your Houses? Doth not the Prophet call you *ravening Wolves*, yea, *evening Wolves*, whose work is in the night to spoil the Sheep? And are not you charactered to all People to be of the Beast; and to have the Paw of a Lyon and Bear, though your face be like a Calf? Would you out-strip Bishop *Bonner*, and the Pope? Look on your Actions, and the Popes Cannons, and your own; and look on the Commands of Jesus, who sayes, *Love one another, and love Enemies*; but this you scoff at, *Ishmael-like*, and *Esau-like*, with his hand against every man, in your prophane actions against the Righteous. Do not you think that the King and all people see your hypocrisie, and your treachery, and daubing and dissembling heart, and your deceit? How can you fast, and smite with the fist of wickedness? How can you lift up your unholy hands so full of blood? Doth not the Scripture call you the Trees without Fruit, and Clouds without Rain, and Wells without Water, to whom is reserved the blackness and darkness for ever, and to be the evil

evil men and seducers, who wax worse and worse, and to be the heady, high-minded, puffed up, disdainers, proud, without natural affections, having a form of Godliness, but denying the power, which must be turned away from?

And when *Broadstreet*, and some other of his Companions came over into *England* here, when some of the People of God went to examine him about putting to death, or murdering some of their Friends in *New England*, whether he had a hand in it, and by what Law they did it? and whether they were subject to the Laws in *England*? And he spoke in a kind of a fearful manner, guilt being upon him, and would shuffle it off from himself, and said, *That they had a Law by which they put Jesuites to death.* It was ask't him, *Whether they were Jesuites? and whether they had put them to death as Jesuites?* And *Broadstreet* said, *Nay, he did not believe they were Jesuites.* So then it was said to him, *That they murdered them when no Law of England could be instanced by him, by which they put them to death.* At which *Broadstreet* was afraid, and said, *What do you come to catch;* seeing himself ensnared, and would fain have been gone. But *Broadstreet* soon got him out of *England*, or else it may be *William Robinsons* Father would have been on the back of him for murdering his Son; but the blood-thirsty one got him away, who with the rest of his Companions, had drunk the blood of the Martyrs and Saints, and who made themselves drunk with the blood of the Righteous; But the Lord will pursue such Vagabond *Cains* and Wanderers, as murdered *Abel* your Brother; and *Jezebel*, who killed the Lords Prophets, is among you. Are these the men that fled for Religion, all people may say, that now Hang, Burn, Imprison, Cut, Fine, and spoil the Goods, and drink the blood of the Innocent. God will give you a Cup of trembling, that you shall be a by-word, and a hissing to all your Neighbours.

T H E E N D.

ERRATA.

Page 14 line 37 for *might come*, read *might not come*. P. 21. l. 15.
 f. *if within*, r. *if after*. P. 33. l. 15. f. *Royal* r. *Loyal*. P. 77. in the
 Margent, f. *Prophet complained* r. *People complained*. P. 83. l. 9. f.
four r. *fourty*. p. 86. l. 5. f. *at the point* r. *from the point*. p. 88. l. 26.
 f. *James Mayo*, r. *John Mayo*. p. 89. l. 20. f. *Butchers tub* r. *Butchers*
Cub. p. 93. l. 32. f. *Court of Assistance* r. *Court of Election*. p. 112. l. 8.
 f. *Dedham* r. *Boston*. p. 125. l. 28. f. *William Ling* r. *William King*. p.
 127. l. 26. f. *the*, r. *thy*. p. 128. l. 4. f. *Eye*, r. *Ear*. p. 139. l. 6. for
Christian, r. *Cushion*.

